

DAILY REPORT

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CSSR'S KEBLUSEK INTERVIEWED ON 22D MBFR ROUND

AU160915 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 80 p 6

[Undated interview given in Vienna with Emil Keblusek, head of the Czechoslovak MBFR delegation, to Bedrich Zagar: "The West's Outstanding Debts"]

[Text] The 22d round of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, which--like the preceding rounds--has not yielded any remarkable progress that would carry the talks forward, will end in a few days. The socialist countries have exerted multifaceted efforts to contribute to positive results enabling at least partial agreements, but the West fails to respond constructively to that initiative, it even ignores the socialist countries' readiness to accept compromises. We asked Ambassador Emil Keblusek, head of the Czechoslovak delegation in Vienna, for an interview to acquaint the readers with the current situation at the Vienna talks.

[Question] Comrade Ambassador, next Thursday another round of the Vienna talks will be over. What has been the course of this round and the atmosphere at the talks?

[Answer] Like a sensitive barometer, the talks reflect the overall situation in the world and the controversial character of the development of international relations. On the one hand, the socialist countries are striving to improve peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems in the spirit of the historic Final Act of the Helsinki conference. On the other hand, imperialist countries are out to disturb the process of detente, and the most reactionary forces, incited by the military-industrial complex, even want to turn back the positive development. That has had an immediate impact on the Vienna talks. In this round, too, the socialist countries have displayed initiative, which is borne out by the latest proposal submitted 1 month ago with the objective of giving momentum to the talks. We proposed that the freezing of the number of troops of participants in the talks, apart from the United States and the USSR which are to reduce their troops in the first stage, have a collective character, which would make it possible to make changes within the two political-military alliances according to need. That is a justified proposal because on our side the militarily most important member, the Soviet Union, will be the first to reduce while on the Western side the FRG, as the most important member, will remain unaffected. Everything that has been achieved in Vienna so far, including the start of the talks itself, is the result of a persistent struggle waged by the socialist countries and all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world against reactionary forces of imperialism.

[Question] In the last few months elections were held in some Western countries. Has that had an impact on the Vienna talks?

[Answer] The Western media of mass information and propaganda frequently gives the elections as a reason for the West's passivity in solving important problems of the present world--it is always either shortly before them or after them. Similar signs can be noted at the Vienna talks as well. We respond to those views as follows: The present international situation does not allow long breaks in solving problems because they might accumulate to such a degree that it will then be difficult to seek a way out. Because of the rapid sequence of election periods in the West, there would never be time to deal with the vital issue of peace. The West, too, should be ready to discuss issues of peace and security at any time.

[Question] What has been the content of the round that is now drawing to a close?

[Answer] We have focused our main efforts on some sort of a recapitulation of the two sides' positions. That comparison was meaningful for us because we sought possibilities for eliminating differences at least in less substantial matters, and thus creating prerequisites for drawing the two sides' stands closer together.

[Question] What has the comparison of standpoints shown?

[Answer] As I stressed in my speech at the plenary meeting on Thursday, three groups of issues emerged. The first includes a range of problems on which there is general agreement. That is true, for instance, of the agreement that in the first stage reduction will concern the ground forces of the USSR and the United States, to the extent proposed by the socialist countries on 10 July this year: 20,000 Soviet and 13,000 American soldiers. The West, however, makes that agreement contingent on other demands vis-a-vis the socialist countries, forgetting that the actual reduction ratio is 40,000 to 13,000 because the Soviet Union has already withdrawn 20,000 soldiers and 1,000 tanks from the GDR. Furthermore, there exists an agreement that between the first two stages individual limits will be fixed for the number of troops after the reduction. There is also an agreement that the United States and the USSR will withdraw their contingents of ground forces subject to reduction to their own territories. There are more such points where the views coincide, but I do not want to irritate you with technical details.

The second group is made up of problems characterized by a certain degree of understanding for the other side's positions. The final standpoint depends, however, on the fulfillment of secondary conditions. Among those problems are, for instance, the issue of direct participants in the first agreement, the area to which that agreement should apply, the method of reducing Soviet and American troops in the first stage and the essential need to set an upper limit for the numerical strength of air force personnel.

The third group, finally, includes issues on which there are fundamental differences, such as the issue concerning the direct participants' commitment to start reducing in the second stage. Those commitments must be part of the agreement on the first stage. The West is refusing to accept the demand that armaments be reduced simultaneously with troop reduction. There is also disharmony concerning the issue of an effective mechanism to ensure observance of the collective level of troop strength after the reduction in two stages. A collective level has been fixed for each side of 700,000 men attached to ground forces and 900,000 men as an upper limit for ground and air forces altogether.

[Question] What can be expected of the Vienna talks next year?

[Answer] I hope that the Western delegations will make use of the break until the end of January to conduct consultations with their governments and to prepare an answer to the socialist countries' initiative. I would like to mention that since the 15th CPCZ Congress we have submitted, along with the USSR, the GDR and Poland, a total of 10 proposals. So far we have not received from our partners a response that would permit us to start drawing up an agreement on the first reduction stage. Peoples all over the world expect that in the interest of strengthening peaceful coexistence, the West will turn its general declarations into specific deeds in Vienna and will not hamper constructive negotiations.

COMMENT ON HAIG APPOINTMENT, POSSIBLE OPPOSITION

AUL62030 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] A short while ago the news agencies reported that President-elect Ronald Reagan has chosen General Alexander Haig, former commander in chief of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe, for the post of U.S. Secretary of State. It seems to me that the appointment of a military figure to this important post in the administration absolutely clearly indicates the foreign policy that the Reagan administration intends to follow. I recall that when Haig occupied at that time a leading position in the North Atlantic Pact, even the Western press had ironically commented on his paranoiac anti-Sovietism [words indistinct] and his military pledges to strengthen Western military might. And what is more, during the past few days a number of eminent U.S. politicians, including representatives of the moderate circles of the Republican Party, declared themselves against Alexander Haig's appointment to be secretary of state.

Tonight another appointment was made known. Raymond Donovan, a construction contractor from New Jersey, will be appointed Secretary of Labor.

ZHIVKOV SENDS ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO WALDHEIM

AUL50926 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 13 December on page 1 carries the 800-word "text" of a letter from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, to Kurt Waldheim, UN secretary general, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the UN declaration on giving independence to the colonies. The letter stresses the importance of the decision which "confirmed the irrevocable right of nations for independent territories, self-determination and independence, and became a real stimulus for removing colonial dominance and the emergence of new and independent states." Further on, the letter emphasizes the necessity of removing remnants of racist oppression in South Africa. In conclusion the letter stresses Bulgaria's contribution to "removing the last remnants of the colonial system and creating a new and just world without oppression, colonialism and racism."

LILOV INTERVIEWED ON RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

AUL31519 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 13 Dec 80

[BTA political observer Dimitur Shishmanov interview with Aleksandur Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, after his return from the SFRY: "Positive Trends in Bulgaro-Yugoslav Relations"]

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—BTA foreign political observer Dimitur Shishmanov met Mr Aleksandur Lilov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, who returned from Yugoslavia two days ago, and asked him to assess the visit and the condition and prospects of the development of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov's reply was:

"I think that the nature and atmosphere of the talks can be assessed as sincere, principled and, as a whole, constructive, naturally, they reflected and could not but reflect the mutual desire and mutual concern of the two countries for improving our all-round relations.

"The general estimation of our party and state leadership of the condition of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations is known. It has been explained in recent years on different occasions, in particular and to the full in Mr Todor Zhivkov's speeches in Blagoevgrad and at the National Assembly. It can be stressed with satisfaction that recently important positive steps have been made to improve our relations and cooperation. I will cite two examples.

"Politically: The political contacts and talks between our two countries have increased. Mr Todor Zhivkov had talks with the Yugoslav leaders during his visit to the SFRY for the funeral of President Tito.

Mr Pencho Kubadinski met Mr Milos Minic, Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova recently met A. Grlickov, Mr Andrei Lukanov was also on a visit to the SFRY. Bulgaria was visited by Mr Tihomir Vlaskalic, Ivan Stambolic, recently the talks between Mr Petur Mladenov and Yugoslavia's Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec ended, etc. These facts are positive. We welcome them. I think that this exactly is the normal state of the contacts between two neighboring socialist states.

"Economically: The trade between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia reached about 1,200,000,000 dollars this five-year period. For 1980 alone about 300 million dollars. The possibilities for the next five-year period are still greater. Both parties to the talks have agreed that we can obtain not less than 2 milliard 500 million dollars of trade, as well as a great headway in some modern forms of economic cooperation such as specialization, joint production, joint entry to third markets, etc.

"So, without diminishing and neglecting the existing difficulties and differences, the recent development of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations should be assessed as positive.

"As for the prospects, we are optimistic. The good-neighbourly Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations meet with the vital interests of our two peoples. They are mutually advantageous for our two socialist countries, they play an important role for the consolidation of peace, detente and cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe and we have to, therefore, develop them actively. There are real possibilities for it. I think that at the moment the two countries are striving for and doing namely that and this is why the above mentioned positive phenomena have come into being. To consolidate, deepen and stabilize these positive trends on a principled, equal and mutually advantageous basis--this is now the target and it depends on the two sides. We shall do whatever depends on us."

LEADERS GREET KAYSONE PHOMVIHAN ON BIRTHDAY

BK151518 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 2300 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) and prime minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR)]

[Text] Dear Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on our own behalf, we would like to affectionately congratulate you on the occasion of your 60th birthday.

The Bulgarian communists and working people know you very well as a leader of the Lao people who has dedicated his life to the struggle for national and social liberation and socialist construction and an outstanding fighter of the international communist and workers movements.

Faithful to the Marxist-Leninist ideology since an early age, you, comrade, have been one of the excellent leaders of the Lao people in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism, thus allowing them to win a historic victory by establishing the LPDR. Over the past 5 years of the people's administration, under the leadership of the LPRP--under which you have served as secretary general since its founding--the Lao people have scored great achievement in safeguarding their revolutionary fruits, national independence and territorial integrity; building socialism; restoring and increasing the militant solidarity among the peoples in Indochina; and successfully implementing the policy of alliance with the SRV and the PRK in opposing the scheme of imperialism and great nation hegemonism so as to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

In Bulgaria, we highly value you as a strong patriot and unwavering internationalist Leninist, a great contributor to the enhancement and development of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries, a faithful and great friend of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, and a man who has been awarded with the Georgi Dimitrov order.

We sincerely wish you, Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, good health and long life as well as new yet greater achievements in your noble tasks for the prosperity and happiness of the Lao people, consolidation of solidarity and unification between our two parties, countries and peoples, and for the sake of peace, democracy and socialism in the world.

[signed] Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council;

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION OPENS 16 DECEMBER

AU161333 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 16 Dec 80 carries a live report from the National Assembly hall in Sofia on the opening of the 15th session of the Seventh National Assembly. Vladimir Bonev, chairman of the National Assembly, opens the session at 1301 GMT. The announcer says that Todor Zhivkov, Stanko Todorov and Petur Tanchev and other party and state leaders are attending the session. Vladimir Bonev proposes that the National Assembly deputies and those present observe a few moments of silence to pay homage to the memory of deceased National Assembly deputies Georgi Danchev, Boris Vaptsarov and Tseno Tsenov.

Bonev then proposes the following agenda:

- "1. Draft bill on approval of the normative documents issued by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;
- "2. Draft bill on the uniform plan for the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria in 1981 and 1982;
- "3. Draft bill on the 1981 state budget of Bulgaria."

The agenda is unanimously approved by the National Assembly deputies and Vladimir Bonev takes up the first item on the agenda.

The live report from the National Assembly hall ends at 1305 GMT with the announcer saying that the session is continuing its work.

ZHIVKOV MEETS WITH VARNA OKRUG DELEGATION

AU161735 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Today Comrade Todor Zhivkov received a delegation of the Varna Okrug working people led by Todor Stoychev, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Varna Okrug Party Committee. The delegation presented to Comrade Todor Zhivkov a report by the Varna Okrug working people to the BCP Central Committee on fulfillment of the plan on socioeconomic development during the Seventh 5-Year Plan ahead of the time schedule regarding these basic qualitative indexes: net production--102.1 percent; profit--100.01 percent; social productivity of labor--107.2 percent. The foreign exchange plan of the Okrug was fulfilled 2 months ahead of schedule.

Accepting the report, Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed most cordial gratitude to the communists, united agrarians, Komsomols and all working people of Varna Okrug for their selfless work during the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and warmly congratulated them for the high successes achieved. He emphasized that the BCP Central Committee Politburo has high praise for the initiatives generating from Varna Okrug on achieving high efficiency and high quality of production in all of their activities.

He touched on details on one of the characteristic traits of Varna Okrug, its comprehensive development. Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized the positive assessment expressed by him and the Politburo on the efforts made by Varna Okrug in that respect. In conclusion, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo and on his own behalf he hoped that the Varna Okrug party organization, the communists, the united agrarians and all working people of the okrug would continue to be in the front ranks of the struggle to raise living standards and for the growth of our socialist motherland. Comrade Grisha Filipov; Petur Braykov, secretary of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and hero of socialist labor, and Niko Yakhiel, BCP Central Committee member and Todor Zhivkov's assistant, were also present.

DOMESTIC TRADE OFFICIALS DISMISSED FOR VIOLATIONS

AU131620 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] The BCP Central Committee secretariat analyzed a critical note appearing in the daily TRUD under the headline "An Opportunity for Learning Lessons," and ascertained that the facts reported in this article about hiding a certain type of goods that are presently in short supply in the country, which was permitted in the Sofia central department store TSUM, are true.

The BCP Central Committee evaluated these violations as incompatible with party and state policy, and with socialist legality and morality, and decided that the following officials should be dismissed from their posts: Yordan Karabelyov, chief manager of the universal department stores economic management in Sofia; Tsvetan Gerbov, deputy chief manager of the same institute; and Tsvyatko Antov, director of the universal department stores economic management. The employees who are responsible for hiding goods in the children's footwear department of the TSUM department stores are to be dismissed from their jobs and handed over to the public prosecutor. The party organization of the TSUM department store in Sofia is being dissolved for having allowed a gross violation of socialist legality and morality to occur. The BCP Central Committee secretariat charges the central organs to take all necessary measures for strict daily control over the organization of public trade services to the people. It is recommended that the Council of Ministers adopt additional measures for improving and increasing supplies of children's clothing, and also improved trade activities in this sector. The BCP Central Committee Secretariat has expressed its gratitude to TRUD deputy editor in chief (Evelina Georgieva)--the author of this critical remark--for having honorably fulfilled her duty as a citizen and a journalist.

TRICHKOV ATTENDS CONTROL COMMITTEE MEETING

AU132100 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] An accountability election conference of the state and people's control committee attached to the economic management of department stores was held yesterday. Krustyu Trichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, chairman of the State Control Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the conference. Among those present were Stoyan Chobanov, deputy minister of domestic trade and public services; Lazar Stamboliev, first secretary of the Sofia "Vasil Levski" rayon committee; and other officials.

The accountability report on the work of the committee pointed out the great function of control in implementing contractual obligations, in improving the quality of goods, and in increasing the service standards in our largest department store, TSUM.

In his statement, Comrade Krustyu Trichkov stressed that the efforts of the TSUM control organs should be devoted to further improving service standards and to intensifying preventive control and an efficient internal control, as important factors for improving the control activities' efficiency. According to the speaker, the attention of all personnel should be devoted to implementing the great tasks assigned by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in connection with improving trade services to citizens, as well as in connection with improving the satisfaction of their needs and in connection with transforming the TSUM department store into a model of socialist trade and a shining example for all our trade workers throughout the country.

NATO COMMUNIQUE 'INTERFERENCE' IN POLISH AFFAIRS

LD160040 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] NATO's recent December session which ended in Brussels on Friday resounded more loudly than ever with cold war drums, the stepping up of anticommunism, sharp acceleration of the armaments spiral and the raising of tension belonged to the main points on the agenda of the Brussels talks which reflected again the growing pressure of U.S. influence.

It was precisely under U.S. pressure that the Brussels meeting also discussed the situation in Poland and a substantial part of the final communique was devoted to the Polish People's Republic.

The communique bears out that NATO intends to use various sanctions against the socialist countries should the situation in Poland develop to the disadvantage of the West. This is nothing more than an unprecedented and gross interference in the affairs of a sovereign state which--and this has presumably escaped the authors of the communique--moreover does not belong to the sphere of NATO. It also amounted to quite a deliberate provocation and a certain form of intervention designed to stimulate counterrevolutionary forces in Poland on the one hand and on the other hand to stir up a war psychosis in Western Europe and thus cause considerable further growth in armament. This was, after all, openly mentioned at the NATO meeting by the French representatives who stressed that the Americans were stirring up an "atmosphere" around the situation in Poland in order to have a pretext for forcing Western Europe to further--and for many states unbearable--expenditures for arming the Atlantic armies.

RUDE PRAVO LAUDS FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH USSR

LD121004 Prague CTK in English 0808 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Prague, 12 Dec (CETKA)--Czechoslovakia's secure future, independence and socialist development are guaranteed by its firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, RUDE PRAVO wrote today on today's 37th anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation.

The Soviet Union has been honoring the provisions of the treaty always and under all circumstances. Experience from the post-war years already proved the correctness of the orientation enshrined in the document. Thanks to the powerful ally, the Czechoslovak people could feel secure and concentrate on the building of their country, on development in all spheres.

The present Czechoslovak-Soviet relations reflect the dynamic development of both countries. They have a creative approach to their cooperation, joint solution of social, scientific and technical problems, and coordination of steps in the economic and political sphere.

"It is an indubitable fact that no serious international problem can be solved without the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia does its best to make, in close coordination with the Soviet Union, an active contribution to detente, deepening of security, understanding among nations, and consolidation of all positive processes fought for by the forces of socialism, peace and progress, RUDE PRAVO continued.

Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship has always been a thorn in the flesh of everybody who wanted to weaken Czechoslovakia, and this friendship has been a target of attack in 1948, in the crisis-ridden years of 1968 and 1969, and in the current anti-socialist campaigns waged by imperialist centrals [as received].

Firm alliance with the Soviet Union is a guarantee that Czechoslovakia will never be a toy in the hands of imperialist states, the paper stressed.

HAVLIN ADDRESSES SOVIET FRIENDSHIP MEETING

AU162141 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 80 pp 1, 2

["From" the speech by Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, at a festive rally marking the end of the month of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, held in the Smetana Theater in Prague on 11 December]

[Excerpts] A few weeks ago we celebrated, together with progressive people all over the world, the 63d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In our socialist homeland those celebrations are traditionally linked with the month of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, which symbolizes the historical links between the decisive events in the history of the peoples of the CSSR and the USSR. Comrade Josef Havlin stressed in the opening part of his speech.

Our own experiences and the experiences of the whole international communist and workers movement convincingly demonstrate, the CPCZ Central Committee secretary went on to say, that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution has been the greatest event of our century, that it has been a true watershed in the historical development of peoples. Communist and workers parties, which head the struggle of the workers class and all working people for social and national liberation, for peace, democracy and socialism, use in their activity the experiences of the Great October Socialist Revolution, are guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and develop it under new historical conditions. Faithful to the creative character of Marxism-Leninism, they are finding and dealing with social problems of a new historical epoch, enriching the treasury of revolutionary doctrine and fighting all attempts to emasculate and distort the revolutionary principles of Leninism. The experiences of the CPSU, which is the first party leading the way to communism, are also made use of abundantly by our CPCZ on its path toward a society of advanced socialism.

Leninism teaches us that views on social phenomena must be backed by a relentlessly objective analysis of reality and actual developments. For the approach to social phenomena to be objective it is necessary to comprehend a whole range of relations and to correctly define individual stages of social development. After all, the art of policymaking consists of respect for the special tasks of every period, for the specific conditions under which the party operates.

At the beginning of the sixties great damage was caused in our country by subjectivist and unrealistic formulations of tasks. We have learned that building socialism in all areas of social life represents the prerequisite to entering the stage of building an advanced socialist society. Only after learning that lesson was it possible to work out and to formulate, at the 14th CPCZ Congress, the Marxist-Leninist program of building an advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia, a program that was further detailed by the 15th CPCZ Congress.

In the next part of his speech Comrade Havlin paid attention to proletarian internationalism, with which all successes achieved by the international workers class in the struggle against capitalism, for its social and national liberation and for peace and socialist transformation of the world are inseparably linked. He stressed that the entire development of the revolutionary workers movement, especially in the last 60 years, has demonstrated the enormous and growing role of proletarian internationalism, its life-giving strength. That is why its ideas, principles and criteria are subject to such a sharp ideological struggle.

The overt as well as covert attacks against proletarian internationalism are aimed at weakening and dividing the revolutionary workers communist and national liberation movements. That is why we use the opportunity of the month of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship to highlight the principles of proletarian internationalism, particularly international proletarian solidarity, a manifestation of which was the combat call of the classics of Marxism "workers of the world unite." An internationalist, V. I. Lenin always stressed, must not think about his own nation alone. Above those interests he must place the interests of the working people of all nations, their freedom and equality.

We would not be able to achieve the successes in our people's life and work without the immense day-to-day assistance and truly fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet people--Comrade Josef Havlin went on to say. The most striking manifestation of the internationalist relations between our two countries is the increasingly growing economic cooperation. It provides the guarantee of a development free of crises, a development ensuring firm social security for our working people. Thanks to increasing cooperation with the Soviet Union we have at our disposal the needed raw materials, iron ore, crude oil, cotton, energy and grain to be able to develop creative work as a basis for the working people's growing prosperity. The importance of integration with the USSR is not diminishing but growing. It is essential for the further peaceful use of nuclear power, in microelectronics and microbiology as well as in the traditional spheres like metallurgy, chemistry, engineering, transportation and communications.

Both sides are paying greater attention to contacts in the ideological and cultural sphere. In the course of this year's month of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship we have had again, after 5 years, a special opportunity to experience a great cultural festival--the "Days of Soviet Culture in the CSSR." All our people have thus had the opportunity to acquaint themselves even closer with the constantly developing culture and arts of the Soviet people. That culture represents, not only for our artists but for all working people, a permanent example of optimism in life, a source of creative inspiration and encouragement for further building work.

In his speech the CPCZ Central Committee secretary also stressed the need for cohesion in the socialist community, to which the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia significantly contribute. They attribute particular importance to greater coordination of the socialist countries' foreign policy and to consistent implementation of joint steps of the Warsaw Pact member states. They regard the struggle to halt the arms race and the transition to feasible measures in the sphere of disarmament as the most important tasks of the present.

The constructive peace efforts of the socialist countries have also been borne out by the course and the results of the recent session of leading party and state representatives of the Warsaw Pact countries in Moscow. Our party, Josef Havlin said, identifies itself fully with the results of that consultation and is firmly determined to participate effectively in further developing the process of detente, in the joint struggle for peace, international security and cooperation among states and peoples of the whole world.

Comrade Havlin also recalled that starting with the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session the party and, under its leadership, all working people have started the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress. Our society is entering the eighties firm, economically strong and culturally advanced. The strength we have accumulated in building advanced socialism today forms a reliable basis for successes and fulfillment of demands in the years to come, especially in the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In that spirit we will also celebrate the 60th anniversary of the CPCZ's foundation next year.

We are concluding the month of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, in which we have again recalled the irreversible values which the life certainties of our present and future, of our creative work represent for the well-being of the working man, CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Josef Havlin said in conclusion. The deepening of alliance, cooperation and friendship with the CPSU and all Soviet people is, therefore, and will remain one of the durable pillars of our policy.

LENART RECALLS ANNIVERSARY OF 'LESSONS' DOCUMENT

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[Article by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee: "On the 10th Anniversary of the 'Lessons'"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] Ten years have passed since the December 1970 session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which adopted the document "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." This significant document expressed, on the basis of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis and a generalization of collective experience, the truth about one of the most difficult periods that the CPCZ and our country had to undergo. The document showed the roots and causes of the crisis, revealed the course taken by the rightwing and revisionist forces and their ties with the anticommunist centers abroad, and set up the path toward overcoming the deformations and toward consolidating and further developing socialism in our country. Therein lay, and lies, the immense significance of the "Lessons," which has become not a run-of-the-mill, but a truly fundamental and lastingly valid document which is binding on us.

The "Lessons" and its conclusions, yet further enhanced by the present, reminds us of the strength of socialist internationalism, and the strength of our fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It reminds us of the significance of unity, comradely cooperation and mutual support in building the new life, and in jointly defending the achievements of socialism.

When the party was assessing the results of the victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie in February 1948, Klement Gottwald was able to declare with justification that, after the workers class and working people had consolidated their power under the Communist Party's leadership, only our own errors and mistakes could defeat us. Filled with self-confidence and revolutionary enthusiasm, we then set out to accomplish our feat, which was crowned by significant successes.

THE ACHIEVED RESULTS CONVINCINGLY TESTIFIED TO THE INTERNATIONAL VALIDITY OF LENINISM, TO THE FACT THAT THIS DOCTRINE MAY BE APPLIED WITH SUCCESS ALSO IN AN INDUSTRIALLY DEVELOPED COUNTRY.

The achieved results opened for the party and people the path toward consolidating and further improving the accomplished feat. But in the period toward the end of the fifties and at the beginning of the sixties, there also began to be manifested grave problems and difficulties connected with our entering a higher phase of the development of socialism, a phase which brought with it new and more complicated tasks. The problems and difficulties also originated in the errors and mistakes perpetrated in the management of society. As the leading force of the socialist society, the party had no comprehensive program for the phase of socialist maturing. This led to self-placation, to loss of the class approach and to skipping over certain phases of our advance--in brief, there occurred deviations from Leninist principles in the life of the party and society.

The consequence was that, at the turn from the fifties to the sixties, we had no long-term plan for development of the society and economy; waverings and mistakes occurred in the matter of classes and social groups, in nationality matters and in approaches to questions of the state and of democracy; and the arrival of the scientific-technical revolution was underrated. In the matter of nationalities, simultaneously with their drawing closer to each other there was a lack of correct respect for the nations' and nationalities' trend toward inevitable advance.

This weakened the party's leading role in society, its political-educational work and its ties with the masses, and also negatively influenced development in the country.

In the process of building such a great and complicated edifice as socialist construction, of course, mistakes and errors can crop up; and they manifestly do occur. [paragraph continues]

As a rule, they are not the consequence of malicious intent. They may be due to the level of knowledge achieved at that stage, as well as to the fact that the building of socialism is tied to the weight of the old world which, as Lenin used to say, "clings to the new, fresh, young and vital world with thousands of strings and ties...." The mistakes may also originate in the conflict between the best intentions to achieve striking results quickly and the realistic possibilities for this.

Of course, the decisive thing is to recognize, uncover and rectify the mistakes in time. But at that time we also had forces in our country which criticized mistakes not to eliminate the mistakes, but to make ill use of them for attacking the party, for compromising socialism and for tearing Czechoslovakia out of the union of socialist countries.

It is most instructive to recall now, 10 years later, how the rightwing bosses lied at the time, how they concealed their true aims and covered up by talking of democracy, freedom, a better socialism and so forth. But how often have they revealed since then, with cynical frankness, that all this was merely hypocrisy, that in reality they were concerned with liquidating socialism and bringing back the old bourgeois order. Quite a few of these shipwrecked people today openly serve the imperialist centers, giving vent to their class hatred in anti-Czechoslovak campaigns.

In order to see the true intentions of rightwing opportunists in their true light, and to grasp them, we must assess their activities in context with the long-term strategy of imperialist forces, aimed at destabilizing the socialist world and at pushing the individual fraternal countries off the socialist path. Our own experience also confirms that imperialism has simply not reconciled itself to the victorious and logical progress of the new social order, and that it is constantly searching for weak spots in the socialist countries in order to make use of them, with the assistance of "domestic opposition," for disrupting these countries from within. This is what happened in the GDR, later happened in the Hungarian People's Republic, what happened in our own country in 1968, and is, after all, what is happening now in Poland.

Since imperialism's strategic goal in all these countries was to disrupt and destroy socialism, the tactics were adjusted to the national conditions and to the acquired experience.

From the development of the situation in our own country, we can see how the counter-revolutionary forces cautiously and gradually proceeded, in keeping with the directives of foreign centers, from one phase to the next. From malicious criticism of mistakes and from demagogic campaigns that discredited the party and socialism, they soon shifted to a battle for seizing power in the party and authoritative bodies, in trade unions and other social organizations, and finally to an open appeal for seizing power by force, as expressed in the pamphlet "2,000 Words." The rightwingers succeeded in realizing their intentions to a considerable extent. The "Lessons" states that "in 1968, a broad anticommunist coalition was shaped in our country, and a new structure of the political system emerged, which practically restored the state prior to February 1948."

The rightwingers' sophisticated tactics of course did not exclude the use of violent methods. On the contrary--in our country, too, developments took the direction of an open clash between antisocialist and socialist forces in a civil war. However, contrary to the counterrevolution in Hungary, the reactionary reversal in Czechoslovakia was not meant to start with a program and white terror--it was meant to culminate in them.

The imperialist circles, together with the forces of internal reaction, learned from the defeat of the counterrevolution in Hungary; and the revolutionary forces which had prevented the last act--the bloody civil war--from being enacted in Czechoslovakia also learned from the experience of the Hungarian communists and patriots.

THE TIMELY INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER ALLIES FROZE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTION AND ESTABLISHED CONDITIONS FOR THE OFFENSIVE DRIVE OF INTERNAL MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES.

FROM THIS VIEWPOINT WE JUSTLY REGARD AND APPRAISE THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE AS THE EXPRESSION OF THE WISE, FAR-SEEING, HIGHLY MORAL AND HUMANE POLICY OF THE COMMON DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM--A POLICY FORMULATED BY THE WELL-KNOWN BRATISLAVA DECLARATION OF AUGUST 1968.

The timely nature of international assistance nevertheless carried with it a problem; namely, that a part of the population--in consequence of the, so far, warded-off and not experienced bloody face of the counterrevolution--had retained its illusions about the plans harbored by rightwingers and antisocialist forces, about the plans of the imperialist centers. The people had not experienced the bloody ravings of the counterrevolution or a civil war, they had not fought on the barricades, or lived through the existence of two governments, and they did not know from their own experience, from their own fate and tragedies, whom they faced. It was inevitable to deprogram and reshape by intensive ideological work all the consequences in the people's minds, toward which the developments of 1968 were leading. From this viewpoint the "Lessons" also played an effective and topical role.

Side by side with the existence of global reasons--this fact underscored, and still underscores, that IN OUR COUNTRY THE RIGHTWING DANGER IS THE MAIN DANGER, AND THAT THE FIGHT AGAINST IT IS LASTINGLY TOPICAL.

If developments in our country showed during the critical years that for socialism the main danger is the danger of rightwing opportunism, then the basic method and most effective weapon to overcome it is THE CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF LENINISM IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSOLIDATION.

BUT ONLY A FIRM PARTY LEADERSHIP COULD APPLY SUCH AN APPROACH, A LEADERSHIP WORTHY OF ITS NAME, ONE WHICH BASED ITS ORIENTATION ON LENINISM--THAT UNIQUE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE ON THE REORGANIZATION OF THE PRESENT WORLD, ON THE OBJECTIVE LAWS GOVERNING THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND BUILDING A NEW LIFE. JUST SUCH A LEADERSHIP WAS SHAPED THROUGH THE MERIT OF COMRADE GUSTAV HUSAK, AND WITH HIM AT THE HEAD, IN THE SHARP CLASH WITH THE RIGHTWINGERS AT THE APRIL [1969] CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION. The fact that the leadership was created and that it took its place at the head of the struggle for the socialist way out of the crisis signified a historical turn in the situation.

Both in assessing the past, and in analyzing the current state and finding a way out of it, the new leadership applied a new approach. It rejected a lighthearted and hostile denial of revolutionary traditions and historic successes brought by socialism to our peoples. At the same time it did not ignore the serious mistakes that had taken place in the fifties, nor did it ignore the errors at the beginning of the sixties. But it stressed on principle that the mistakes had been neither inevitable, nor typical for socialism, but that they occurred as a consequence of the deviation from Leninist norms and principles in the life of the party and society. It regarded the consistent renewal and creative implementation of those norms and principles as the only socialist way out of the difficulties.

FOLLOWING THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AND THE RESULTS ACHIEVED, IT ENCOURAGED THE PRINCIPLED, DETERMINED AND OFFENSIVE DRIVE OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES TO REVIVE THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES AND PUSH THROUGH THE LENINIST COURSE.

That was the basis of overcoming the crisis, the basis specified in the May [1969] realization directive--the "Program of Stabilizing Socialism and of Further Developing the Country's Socialist Advance," which the new leadership presented to the public.

We have already stressed here that the starting position of the new leadership was the defense and development of the basic values of socialism and the renewal of Leninist norms in the life of the party and the state.

The revisionists' position was the complete opposite. They called the years of socialist construction a period of darkness, of an accumulation of mistakes. They claimed that not one important human problem had been solved during those years.

As soon as they succeeded in gaining control over a substantial part of the mass communications media and in manipulating the public opinion through the media, they inculcated in the public the opinion that the cause of all this was the so-called Soviet model of socialism, based on the Leninist doctrine which they said is "alien" and "historically and geographically restricted" and "today already obsolete and unsuitable for the conditions of such an industrially developed country as Czechoslovakia."

In their renegade logic, the rightwingers explained further that February 1948 should be rejected because it was then that we adopted what they call a dubious orientation and a harmful path. And, finally, they came to the conclusion that the root of all evil was the fifth CPCZ Congress of 1929, which had allegedly enabled the onslaught of dogmatic pro-Moscow forces against the so-called humanitarian stream in the party.

All this was, of course, a gross falsification by revisionists, one aimed at denying the generally valid theory and practice of the struggle of the workers class and of other working people for proletarian power and socialist construction; it signified the negation of the experience acquired by millions of people in Czechoslovakia, and it denied with cynical contempt the entire meaning of those people's struggles, efforts and self-denial.

All this was enacted in the interests of dismantling socialism in our country. But because socialism had become deeply anchored in the working people's minds and life, and because rightwing forces thus could not attack the ideal of socialism directly, they offered the people what they called a better, a democratic socialism, a socialism with a human face. But actually it was the old, bourgeois-democratic system.

In the struggle against the rightwing concepts the new leadership could rely on what was, and is, anchored in the historical awareness of our peoples: That IT IS LENINISM AND THE GREAT OCTOBER THAT FORM THE WELL-PROVEN PATH UNCOMPROMISINGLY TAKEN BY THE GOTTWALD LEADERSHIP AT THE FIFTH CPCZ CONGRESS--THE PATH THAT HAD LED OUR PEOPLE NOT ONLY TOWARD ACHIEVING THEIR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL FREEDOM, BUT ALSO TOWARD BUILDING REAL SOCIALISM, THE SUCCESSES OF WHICH CANNOT BE ERADICATED FROM THE PEOPLE'S MINDS.

The key task was to revive the party's Marxist-Leninist character and its leading role in society. It is known what dangerous theories and practices the opportunists tried to push through at the time in the matter of the role played by the workers class and its political party. They claimed that the time had come when the workers class and its political party were no longer entitled to perform the vanguard mission, but that the mission should be taken over by the intellectualist elite. Thus it follows, they reasoned, that a revolutionary party of the workers class is no longer needed and that its leading role is merely a source of difficulties. Therefore they strove to change the Communist Party into a party of the old social-democratic reformist type, and in that way to liquidate it.

In contrast the new leadership resolutely underscored the Leninist thesis that the Communist Party is ideologically the most mature detachment of the workers class and that it is the only factor capable of ensuring that the workers class leads the farmers and the other working strata. [paragraph continues]

IN SUCH A PRINCIPLED STRUGGLE THE PARTY CLEANSSED ITSELF OF THE BEARERS OF RIGHTWING REVISIONISM; ITS POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND ACTION UNITY WAS RESTORED; ITS LENINIST CHARACTER AGAIN BEGAN TO BE SHAPED; AND ITS PROGRAMMATIC AND IMPLEMENTING FUNCTION AND ITS CLOSE TIES WITH THE PEOPLE DEVELOPED.

Another important task was to consolidate the socialist state and its functioning. A struggle had to be waged against the revisionist tendencies aimed against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the endeavor to replace it by the so-called pluralist system. In fact, the revisionists claimed that the dictatorship of the proletariat has lost its function; that the class, social and ideological reasons for its existence had ceased to exist; and that one needed a system which would operate not on the principle of a single leading political party, but on the principle of the rivalry of existing and newly emerging political parties. Simply put, a pluralist system, as the revisionists understood and interpreted it, was meant to be, and would have been, a return to the political system of bourgeois Czechoslovakia.

It was fatefully necessary not to accept such concepts and to overcome the intentionally spread illusions that the change of ownership relations would automatically make the petite bourgeoisie disappear and would bring about a radical change in the people's way of thinking--to overcome the illusion that the dictatorship of the proletariat has become obsolete.

Together with the solution of basic matters in the realm of policy the party had to solve a whole number of other key problems, particularly in the economy. The rightwing-opportunist and antisocialist forces placed particular emphasis on this sphere in their plans.

It is known that in the middle of the sixties the party and state bodies and the economic and scientific organizations strengthened their efforts to overcome stagnation and to renew the dynamic advance of the Czechoslovak economy on the basis of improved planning and of a fuller and more expedient use of the goods-monetary relations, all of which--together with the consolidation of the party's leading role in economic management and of the role of trade unions--constituted the main contents of the perfected management system.

In contradiction to this realistic and well-substantiated concept we had the ascending rightwing trend, which strove to push through measures which were programmatically aimed at liquidating the party's leading role, at disrupting the central planned national economy management, at gradually separating our economy from the socialist community and at tying it as closely as possible to the capitalist countries. In the endeavor to win the masses' confidence, the rightwing trend expressed, on the one hand, its negative criticism of all that had been achieved during the years of socialist construction, and on the other hand evoked illusions that it had at its disposal a "miraculous" model, the realization of which would make it possible to solve all economic problems quickly and easily.

The rightwing representatives submitted a draft law on enterprises, which signified the splitting of socialist popular ownership to an irrational decentralized management and liquidation of state national economy planning.

The new leadership purposefully created prerequisites to overcome the crisis in that sphere. It rejected the concept that freed the path for arbitrariness and anarchy; it consistently took the path of renewing both the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist management of the economy and the party's leading role--the path of consolidating popular socialist ownership, that of the broad mobilization of the working people's initiative and of the renewal of the principle of socialist internationalism through comprehensive development of economic cooperation with the CEMA countries. [paragraph continues]

THAT EFFORT HAS YIELDED DESERVED FRUIT IN THE RAPID ECONOMIC CONSOLIDATION AND IN CREATION OF FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH 5-YEAR PLANS.

Consistent implementation of Leninism in all spheres also opened the way for the principled and final solution of the nationality question in our state--a solution which was ripening throughout the preceding period. In the complicated and none-too-easy process of realizing and reevaluating mistakes and deformations that had occurred in connection with the accusations against, and the trial of, the so-called bourgeois nationalists, and in connection with the rehabilitation of the unjustly sentenced party representatives in Slovakia, not only the possibility emerged, but also the objective need and inevitability was recognized, of solving, in the phase of building advanced socialism on Leninist principles and with the use of the CPSU's experience--the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks on the foundation of a new constitutional arrangement on the basis of a federation.

One of the decisive factors of the defeat of the rightwingers was the unmasking of their foreign policy line, which was a catastrophe for our peoples. The rightwing forces cast doubt on and denigrated Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. They did everything to disrupt those ties and to wrest our country from the socialist community. It is here that the rightwingers' adventures and gambling, their ignorance of the Czechs' and Slovaks' historic experience was very strikingly manifested. In their anti-Soviet hatred those gentlemen advised us to take the path of neutrality, allegedly in the interests of the republic. This was in fact equal to a violation of our ties with the Warsaw Pact countries, to the loss of certainty and security, and to subordination to imperialism. It was a path which, in its consequences, not only threatened the sovereignty of our fatherland, but also led to opening the Western borders of the socialist world and threatened the security of the countries of the socialist community.

The new leadership resolutely backed the renewal of fraternal and allied relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and did everything necessary to intensify them. WE SAY WITH DEEP CONVICTION THAT, AFTER THE PAST LIGORS, OUR FRIENDSHIP HAS BECOME YET DEEPER, MORE SINCERE AND ARDENT, REPRESENTING THE MOST PRECIOUS VALUE AND MOST RELIABLE CERTAINTY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE.

This conviction is based on the realization that as in the past the Soviet Union remains the gigantic laboratory of a unique experience as we build the society of advanced socialism. Furthermore, this conviction is based on the fact that economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is a decisive factor for our economy. We realize that without that cooperation we would not win the struggle for high efficiency. We realize that we have no other alternative.

THIS CONVICTION IS BASED ON THE AWARENESS THAT IT IS ONLY THANKS TO THE COUNTRY OF THE SOVIETS, WHICH CONSISTENTLY STRUGGLES FOR PEACE, THAT WE MAY LIVE AND WORK IN PEACE. WE ARE AWARE THAT THAT IS ITS MERIT.

And finally our peoples' conviction is based on the certainty that IT IS THE INTERNATIONALIST POLICY OF THE USSR'S ASSISTANCE TO ITS ALLIES THAT IS THE LASTING GUARANTEE OF THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF OUR OWN PEOPLE. For many years the policy of international assistance has been the target of the imperialist centers' attacks, and still is. The experience of socialist countries, of progressive states and fighting peoples, as well as our own experience confirm that international ties, solidarity and assistance are irreplaceable strengths in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for freedom, progress and peace. It was and is these very principles that shaped and are shaping our present attitude toward Vietnamese assistance to the Kampuchean people, who arose against the genocide regime, and our positive attitude toward the Soviet Union's international assistance in the defense of the Afghan revolution, against which the forces of imperialism and reaction are waging an undeclared war. [paragraph continues]

The working people of our country, who know from their own experience the value of such assistance in construction and in defense, will not let themselves be confused by the hypocrisy of all such campaigns inspired by imperialism's class hatred.

The consolidation of society and its progress and success depended on how the party and its new leadership would succeed in regaining the trust of broad masses--of the workers class, the farmers, the intelligentsia--and in winning them over to the CPCZ's policy. In the struggle for this trust of the working people, which our party developed in the spirit of its Leninist tradition that says "face to face with the masses," the party leadership realistically and soberly assessed the level of knowledge reached by the people. It did not run ahead of the existing possibilities, and it simultaneously actively shaped and raised the masses' awareness to the level of the needs of the times.

We saw the decisive front in this struggle in winning our working people over to an active and conscious participation in implementing the party's policy, in their creative work for today and tomorrow.

The criterion for judging whether any concept, any political line, is correct are the results achieved in the development of society, and particularly of its economy.

We may state that in the past 10 years we have significantly progressed in eliminating the substantial differences between Slovakia and the Czech Socialist Republic, and that the contribution Slovakia is making toward beautifying our Czechoslovak socialist fatherland is growing.

We are recalling the tenth anniversary of adopting the "Lessons" document at a time when intensive preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress are underway both in the party and throughout society.

We are justified in saying that our drawing correct conclusions from the critical period and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in solving the newly ripened problems made it possible for our party to work out, with a profound knowledge of internal and external conditions, the program of building advanced socialism. The struggle for realizing this program--formulated by the 14th and further worked out by the 15th congress--has convincingly testified that our party is fulfilling the role of revolutionary vanguard, that it has a sense of the new, that it rejects dogmatism and treading water, and that it creatively implements the living Marxist-Leninist doctrine in practice.

The purpose of the program to build the advanced socialist society is the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual needs. In fulfilling this revolutionary program we consolidate the socialist system and the working people's power with the workers class at the head; we develop socialist democracy and perfect the implementation of the party's leading role. We continue striving for effectiveness and quality in the development of production forces, and for mature standards in socialist production relations; we solve matters in merging the advantages of socialism with the results of scientific-technical revolution, as well as matters concerning the integration of economy and science with the USSR and other socialist countries. In the interests of a harmonious development of the personality, we are enhancing the ideological upbringing of our working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

In all party activities, and in preparing the coming congress, we proceed from the continuity of this general line; and again we are drawing on the CPSU's experience. Our inspiration lies in the approach used by Soviet communists in solving the problems of further advance--an approach which, as shown by L.I. Brezhnev's recent statement, has in mind not only the need to make speedy progress, but also a realistical weighing of the possibilities on how to proceed so that this course ensures the equilibrium and stability of society. [paragraph continues]

It is a policy which has no place for subjectivism, and it is based on the objective appraisal of reality and on a revolutionary attitude toward conditions that are the source of the existing economic, scientific and technical base.

WE REGARD THE STRUGGLE FOR RAISING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PRODUCTION AND THE QUALITY OF WORK AS THE DECISIVE PREREQUISITE OF OUR EFFORT TO SATISFY THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS BETTER THAN BEFORE, AND TO MAKE SOCIETY PROGRESS.

We proceed from the fact that, compared with the past, both the internal and external needs and conditions governing the functioning of our economy have changed.

BUT, IN EMPHASIZING EXTERNAL CONDITIONS, WE ALSO BEAR IN MIND THE NEW POSSIBILITIES THAT ARE BEING OPENED UP BY INTEGRATION WITH THE USSR IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND PRODUCTION, AND ESPECIALLY IN ENGINEERING AND CHEMISTRY, AS A NEW SOURCE OF NATIONAL REVENUE AND THE ECONOMY'S EFFECTIVENESS.

And finally there is the inevitability of strengthening the socialist countries' defense ability. As long as the imperialists continue taking the path of feverish armament, we too must be strong in the economic and scientific sense, and on this basis we must step up our defense ability so as to guarantee the security of our fatherland and of the entire socialist community.

We believe that the demand for high efficiency and quality confronts us in Slovakia with yet greater urgency. We must make a more determined effort, and we must act with greater vigor in order to get rid of a certain traditionalism stemming from the phase of industrialization--so as to get rid of partiality for an extensive development which conflicts with the present. OUR WAY OF THINKING AND ACTING MUST CORRESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF BUILDING ADVANCED SOCIALISM, A NATURAL PART OF WHICH IS THE INTENSIVE MODEL OF THE MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY.

In the interests of achieving this turn, we must intensify political-educational and ideological work. The prerequisite for this is to constantly expand the mass base of our socialist democracy and to make the workers, farmers, and members of the intelligentsia participate as much as possible in the decisions on and solutions to problems and in actively accomplishing tasks. The congress preparations, which bear the mark of collectivism and of a joint assessment of problems and the elaboration of our goals, provide the party, trade union and all social organizations with a great opportunity for developing this kind of activity, and for stimulating the working people's great and creative activity in all spheres of our life. Together with this, we must intensify our ideological work and arm the people so that they know how to correctly orient themselves in the key questions of the times; we must instill in them the qualities of ardent patriots and conscious internationalists, and we must conduct an incessant struggle against the ideological subversion of bourgeois propaganda.

In the interests of achieving increasingly emphatic progress in quality and efficiency, we are now perfecting management of the national economy. In the intentions of the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy," we are taking steps for improving the quality of planning and for implementing more consistently the socialist principle of remuneration on merit, both in enterprise collectives and in collectives of workshops and individuals, as well as with regard to collectives and individuals in scientific and research institutes. The effective enforcement of these principles demands that those who have been entrusted with responsibility on all levels act with initiative, and help create in every working place a demanding creative and critical atmosphere, in which better and more responsible work can be done.

OUR CPCZ IS, AND MUST BE, THE GUARANTEE THAT OUR SOCIETY WILL CONTINUE TAKING THE WELL-PROVED LENINIST ROAD IN THE SPIRIT OF THE "LESSONS," AND THAT OUR POLICY WILL CONTINUE TO CORRESPOND TO THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS AND INTERESTS AND TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM.

As Comrade Husak stated at the 18th CPCZ Congress Central Committee session, the encouraging thing is that our party is embarking on congress preparations united, ideologically and politically joined together, and active. The experience that the party had undergone has adequately steeled and armed it for not succumbing to carefree moods, and not losing assurance and trust in the further prospects of socialist advance under difficulties.

Now the main thing in the congress preparations will be to permeate the party's work, the work of all party bodies and organizations, of all communists, with wisdom, stimulating thoughts and realism. A yet more consistent manifestation of the unity of work and deed among our ranks than in the past will be the main thing now. THUS THE PURPOSE OF ALL OUR EFFORTS MUST NOT BE POMPOUS WORDS, BUT SPECIFIC RESULTS IN THE WORK FOR ENHANCING EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY, FOR ENNOBLING INTERHUMAN RELATIONS AND OUR SOCIALIST ETHICS, AND FOR ENHANCING THE HARMONIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY.

It is an honor for all communists, all honest patriots, to see to this!

BOUDOVA UNDERSCORES PARTY'S LEADING ROLE

AU161454 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 80

[Marie Boudova article: "The Inevitability of the Workers Class' Leading Role: the Decisive Force of Socialism"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1960'S, REVISIONISTS IN THE CSSR, AND NOT ONLY IN THE CSSR, ASSERTED THAT THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE WORKERS CLASS ENDED WITH THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION THAT FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGED THE RELATIONSHIP OF WORKERS AND THE OTHER WORKING PEOPLE TOWARD PRODUCTION ASSETS, AND THROUGH WHICH THE WORKERS CLASS ACHIEVED ITS LIBERATION. IN DOING THAT, THE REVISIONISTS DID NOT PRESENT THE LIBERATION AS A PROCESS THAT CULMINATES FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES ONLY WITH A CLASSLESS SOCIETY, BUT AS A ONE-TIME ACTION CONNECTED WITH THE CHANGE OF THE PRODUCTION ASSETS' OWNERSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME THEY WERE DERIDING THE INTERNAL STRENGTH AND CAPABILITIES OF THE WORKERS CLASS IN ORDER TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY--PRECISELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH BOURGEOIS TEACHING--TO SEARCH FOR A "NEW FORCE," CAPABLE OF LEADING AND MANAGING MODERN SOCIETY. HOWEVER, THE WORKERS CLASS--BY ACCOMPLISHING THE REALIZATION OF SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP--BROUGHT ABOUT AN IMPORTANT WATERSHED IN THE PROCESS OF SELF-LIBERATION AND OF THE LIBERATION OF ALL OTHER WORKING PEOPLE FROM ALL KINDS OF OPPRESSION. IT PROVED THAT IT IS CAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT ITS HISTORIC MISSION TO THE END.

Proletariat's Historic Mission

As the classicists of Marxism-Leninism scientifically proved, and the victorious socialist revolutions fully affirmed, only the workers class is capable of being at the head of the struggle for overthrowing the rule of capital, of accomplishing the transition to socialism, of developing socialist construction on the basis of the use of scientific-technical findings and, in the final stage, of "abolishing" the class society in general.

The classicists of Marxism-Leninism discovered the decisive factors from which the objective findings stems, above all in the economic existence of the capitalist society and in the irreconcilability between the class interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. [paragraph continues]

IN THE COURSE OF THE CAPITALIST SOCIETY'S DEVELOPMENT, THE WORKERS CLASS BECAME A NUMERICALLY-STRONG, DISCIPLINED AND WELL ORGANIZED SOCIAL FORCE, WHICH--IN THE BEGINNING--WAGED ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE FORTUITOUSLY, FIGHTING FOR ITS ECONOMIC DEMANDS, BUT UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF AN INCREASING CONSCIOUSNESS THAT THIS PROCESS ACQUIRES AN EVER GREATER POLITICAL CHARACTER, BECOMING A STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL DEMANDS AND RIGHTS.

IN THIS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM, FOR POLITICAL POWER AND BUILDING SOCIALISM, THE WORKERS CLASS IS AT THE SAME TIME ALSO FIGHTING FOR THE INTERESTS OF ALL OTHER WORKING PEOPLE. By liberating itself from exploitation, it rids the entire society of the enslaving influence of private ownership and later also of all forms of social and nationality [narodnostni] oppression. On the basis of this social struggle for fundamental interests, the bond between the proletariat and other working people, small and medium-size farmers, tradesmen, the working intelligentsia and other oppressed people is strengthening.

The necessity of Marxist-Leninist Vanguard

The workers class has a leading role in this bond. Its dedication to the development of large-scale industry swells its numbers and increases its strength and influence. The very character of work in large enterprises teaches workers discipline and organization. To wage a struggle, the proletariat creates its own organization. The Communist Party is the highest form of this organization.

THE NECESSITY TO CREATE A PROLETARIAN PARTY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST TYPE IS GIVEN BY THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS CLASS' LIFE, BY THE NEEDS OF ITS SPIRITUAL AND POLITICAL LIBERATION. In one of the documents of the international workers association, Karl Marx wrote: "One factor of success is in the hand of the workers class--its numerousness, but numbers are of importance to us only if they are glued together by organization and knowledge."

Thus one of the most important tasks of communists is to implant in the consciousness of the proletariat, which has a strong class instinct, the ideas of scientific socialism. The basic mass of the proletariat (as V.I. Lenin already noted), on the strength of its practical experience gained in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, only rises to so-called trade unionist involvement, to comprehending the necessity of the struggle for improvement of its socioeconomic conditions. However, these demands are different in various sectors of capitalist production, and even in individual enterprises. Therefore, the objective of the struggles of the workers class are not only partial reforms aimed at alleviating its current situation, but the elimination of all forms of capitalist exploitation.

Proletarian masses under capitalism have a class feeling gained from a generalization of its long practical experience. However, they cannot work their way into the secrets of social development, or understand the laws of socialist revolution and of the construction of a new order. This knowledge, based on science, must be introduced into the workers movement if this movement is to acquire a genuine revolutionary character. And this is the task of communists, the task of the party.

THE COMMUNISTS' THEORETICAL PRECEPTS ARE THE GENERAL EXPRESSION OF THE TRUE CONDITIONS OF THE EXISTING CLASS STRUGGLE, THE EXPRESSION OF AN OBJECTIVE HISTORICAL PROCESS. THEY FIND APPLICATION IN PRACTICAL REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY. COMMUNISTS ARE IN PRACTICE THE MOST DETERMINED, MOST PROGRESSIVE ELEMENT OF THE WORKERS CLASS. FOR THIS REASON THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THEORETICALLY AS WELL AS PRACTICALLY THE VANGUARD OF THE WORKERS CLASS. Without this vanguard, the proletariat victory in socialist revolution would be impossible. And after the victory, in the period of building socialism, when ever more complex tasks of social development must be resolved, the role of the Communist Party is inevitably increasing.

Therefore the Communist Party can in no case permit the weakening of political and ideological activity, must strive for its creative effort, must wage a resolute struggle against bourgeois ideology, petit bourgeois tendencies and ideological diversion.

"The question of involvement, firm conviction and dedication to the cause of socialism is a cardinal question," the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session noted this March.

"Three decades of building socialism in our country has provided us with enough experience as regards the complexity of this development, which corrected more than one notion dating to the beginning of the revolution, and at the same time reinforced the foundations on which we are building the new society. In our ideological work it was necessary to overcome more than one deviation from the revolutionary teaching, phenomena of revisionism, opportunism from the left and right, elements of romanticism, doctrinairism and subjectivism. Practice has taught us that the path to socialism is a complex and fierce social struggle in which it is necessary on the march to plan one's course of procedure, learn from mistakes, self-critically assess each step, always find time to analyse accomplished results and carry out the necessary regrouping of forces." This communist party's task is all the more urgent the more complex the changes which the workers class is undergoing in the current stage of building an advanced socialist society.

Increased Demands During Further Construction

Czechoslovakia's workers class has a long and rich tradition of historical struggles in which it has acquitted itself with honor. We are rightly speaking of it today as of an ideologically, culturally and technically advanced class, which—with its political and working activity and consistent implementation of all-social interests—unites cooperative farmers, socialist intelligentsia and the rest of the working masses.

The consequence of this leading role is the increasing demands on the programmatic and organizational function of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. ITS MAIN MISSION IS TO IDEOLOGICALLY AND POLITICALLY UNITE THE WORKING PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF RECOGNIZING ALL-SOCIAL NEEDS AND INTERESTS AND PROGRAMATICALLY DEVELOPING THEIR ACTION CAPABILITY IN BUILDING A NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

Life itself has affirmed the scientific finding of the classicists of Marxism-Leninism that building a new socioeconomic formation has its objective inevitabilities, the non-respecting and subjective speeding up of which constitutes a great danger for socialism itself. The historical gradualness of building a classless society is affirmed not only by our own experience from building socialism, but also by the experience of other communist parties, particularly the CPSU. Only with mature socialism—after an advanced socialist society has been built and consolidated—can vital objective and subjective prerequisites for a gradual outgrowing of socialist society into the second phase of socioeconomic formation, into communism, be created.

The 15th congress of our Communist Party pointed out that the building of an advanced socialist society is a long-term historical process. THE WORKERS CLASS CAN REALIZE ITS HISTORICAL MISSION ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING, CONCRETELY HISTORICAL LEVEL OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM.

The path to an advanced socialist society, and thereafter to communism, leads through an immense qualitative development of production potential, which is the outcome of the coming scientific-technical revolution. Only when coupled with the advantages of socialism does science serve further future-oriented development in the interest of all working people.

Therefore, our party was justified in emphasizing at the 15th CPCZ Congress that the more perfect and more scientific is the planning and management of the socialist society's production potential and of all socioeconomic processes, the more markedly the advantages of the socialist social organism emerge. However, this also presupposes systematically expanding and perfecting the horizon of our knowledge, and in accordance with that creating the necessary conditions for its conscious [uvvederele] utilization.

The process of building an advanced socialist society puts increased demands on the revolutionary activity of the workers class and its Communist Party. "We can say," the 15th CPCZ Congress noted when in its report it evaluated the consolidation of the leading position of the workers class, "that we have consistently fulfilled that task. The political and ideological maturity of the workers class has increased, as has its educational and cultural standard, and its influence on the country's entire political, economic and cultural life has strengthened. Its ranks have yielded and yield additional thousands of functionaries, managing, public and creative workers."

Everyday practice proves that the other strata of our people also identify with the goals and ideology of the workers class, because they have convinced themselves that these goals and ideology correspond to their innermost interests.

JAKES RECEIVES PDRY PARTY OFFICIAL 10 DEC

AU141531 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 80 p 1

["(Z)" report: "Yemeni Guest Welcomed in Prague"]

[Text] Prague, 10 Dec--(Abu Bakr Badib), Political Bureau member and secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP] Central Committee, arrived in Prague on Wednesday at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. The Yemeni guest was welcomed at Ruzyně Airport by Vladimír Janku, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department. The PDRY ambassador to the CSSR, Ahmad Ibrahim al-Akbari, also attended.

Milos Jakes, Presidium candidate member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received (Abu Bakr Badib) the same day.

In a cordial and comradely talk they informed one another about the situation in their own fraternal parties and countries and exchanged views on current international problems, particularly on developments in the Middle East. They noted that prerequisites have been created to further develop mutual relations between the CPCZ and the YSP, and the CSSR and the PDRY.

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION ARRIVES

AU160821 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] A study delegation of the Communist Party of India, led by (Sardzua Pandeja), member of the Central Executive Committee and leading secretary of the Communist Party of India in Uttar Pradesh, arrived in the CSSR on Thursday at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Vasil Bejda, head of the CPCZ Central Committee department of propaganda and agitation.

NICARAGUAN MINISTER WHEELOCK DISCUSSES RELATIONS

AU161518 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 13 Dec 80 p 5

[Interview given to Jan Kaspar by Jaime Wheelock, member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front's, FSLN, National Leadership and Political Commission, chairman of the FSLN State Commission and minister of agrarian reform in the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, and head of the delegation of the FSLN and the Government of National Reconstruction: "We Will Not Be Alone in the Storm"--on 9 December in Prague]

[Excerpt] [Question] This autumn a part of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie--obviously motivated by the change in the White House--launched a frontal attack against the Nicaraguan Government and revolution. [paragraph continues]

Has the Sandinist Front (famous for its patience, and the endeavor to look for points of contact for a balanced unity with the components of the patriotic bourgeoisie in all circumstances) changed its basic strategy and tactics?

[Answer] Our program has been clear since our victory. We said, and we insist on this, that--in the name of the reconstruction of the country devastated by war--we are willing to cooperate with all components of society interested in reconstruction, not excluding the bourgeoisie. We have never claimed that we do not want to carry out deep changes for the benefit of the people's masses, or to satisfy not only their hunger for human dignity, but also their need of economic emancipation and social certainties. Nobody will change this in the least. Nevertheless, I do not want to maintain that our program is progressing without problems. In every revolutionary process there are clashes with forces whose interests differ. And in every revolutionary process those forces are primarily recalcitrant, whom the revolution deprives of their privileges. The reactionary bourgeoisie is attacking us from inside, and the vestiges of Somoza's guards, concentrated in Honduras, are attacking us from outside. This is only natural and it must not provoke us. Above all we must defend and develop the rhythm of the country's reconstruction. The FSLN is the undisputed vanguard of all honest and honorable Nicaraguans, of workers, farmers and youth; but also of that part of the bourgeoisie which had to pay to an undiminished extent for the despotism of Somoza's tyranny, which participated in the victory, and which regards the cause of the country's reconstruction as its own.

[Question] How do you appraise the results of your visit to Czechoslovakia?

[Answer] We will carry out an analysis of our trip to European socialist countries after we get home. I will therefore confine myself to a brief appraisal. We believe that our trip was very fruitful and, among other things, that it has served to acquaint us to a greater extent with the European socialist countries--and to acquaint the European socialist countries with us. The trip as a whole helped us to consolidate and deepen friendship, and to define the forms of further economic cooperation. In Czechoslovakia we conducted negotiations with Comrades Jakes and Rohlicek. Toward the end of our stay here we were received by Comrade Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and president of the republic. In all the negotiations we encountered extraordinary understanding and the certainty that Czechoslovakia's political and economic assistance to the Nicaraguan revolution has firm and stable foundations. We conveyed to Czechoslovak comrades our misgivings about the dangerous tendencies now appearing in the Latin American area. By this I mean the declaration of the American president-elect; the manipulated victory of rightwingers in Jamaica; the coups in Bolivia and Suriname; and the constant U.S. meddling in the internal affairs of fighting El Salvador. Nicaragua, too, if forced to ward off the attempts of internal and external reaction to effect a reversal, in parallel with the efforts of the Sandinist Front and the Government of National Reconstruction to cope with the tragic legacy of Somozaism as quickly as possible. We know that in the next few years we have to expect only work and battle. We are entering a period of a great subcontinental storm. We have come for a visit to European socialist countries in order to gain assurance that we will not be alone in this storm. In Moscow, Sofia, Budapest and Prague we have met support, solidarity and a lasting friendship.

VATICAN REPRESENTATIVE HAS TALKS IN PRAGUE

AU162101 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] Prague, 15 Dec (CTK)--From 10 to 12 December talks were held in Prague between the Czechoslovak Government delegation, headed by Karel Hruza, leading secretary for church affairs in the CSSR Government Presidium office, and the Vatican delegation, led by Archbishop Luigi Poggi, apostolic nuncio on a special mission.

During the talks the two delegations clarified their opinions on matters of interest to both sides and agreed on continuing the talks.

REGIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ELECTS NEW OFFICIALS

AU132054 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 80 p 2

[CTK report: "For Peace and Disarmament; New Presidium of the Regional Association of the Christian Peace Conference in the CSSR Elected; Letter to the World Council of Churches"]

[Summary] Brno, 4 Dec (CTK)--The Christians' commitment to peace was the subject of a seminar of more than 200 delegates of the 15 member churches of the regional association of the Christian Peace Conference in the CSSR that was held in Brno on Thursday.

The session, which was chaired by Dr Jan Michalko, bishop general of the Slovak evangelical church, was addressed by Dr Lubomir Mirejovsky, secretary general of the Christian Peace Conference. He stressed that halting the arms race is the main task in the present tense international situation. "The commitment of churches and their believers in Czechoslovakia to peaceful, constructive efforts furnishes proof of the possibility and need for coexistence among those whose activities proceed from different world outlooks, but who pursue a common cause--ensuring a peaceful future for all people in the world.

"Karel Hruza, head of the Secretariat for Church Affairs attached to the CSSR Government Presidium, emphasized the peace-promoting work of churches in Czechoslovakia, and expressed the conviction that they will continue to take an active part in building a socialist society.

"The participants adopted a letter addressed to the World Council of Churches in Geneva. In it, apart from other things, they note concern over some tendencies that complicate the relaxation of tension, suppress veracious information on life in the socialist countries and their successes, and spread slanders concerning the sphere of human rights, including in the churches' existence. Representatives of churches in the CSSR ask the World Council of Churches to take a stand against those pressures, which cause harm to the commitment to promote peace and social justice in the world.

"The delegates elected a new presidium of the regional association of the Christian Peace Conference in the CSSR. Dr Milan Salajka, dean of the Czechoslovak Hussite School of Divinity, became the new chairman."

BRIEFS

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AGREEMENT--Prague, 11 Dec (CTK)--A long-term agreement on cooperation between the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Cuban Chamber of Commerce was signed here Thursday by Chairmen of the two chambers Ludvik Cerny of Czechoslovakia and Jose Diaz Mirabal of Cuba. The agreement provides for further deepening of cooperation between the two chambers of commerce, extended participation in trade fairs and organization of exhibitions and lectures aimed at further development of Czechoslovak-Cuban trade relations. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 11 Dec 80 LD]

U.S. OFFICIAL RECEIVED--On Monday CSSR Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received in Prague Fred L. Kuhlmann, chairman of the American side of the Czechoslovak-American Economic Council, who is visiting the CSSR. Their talk concerned the possibilities of further expanding mutual exchange of goods between the CSSR and the United States and the activities of the Czechoslovak-American Economic Council. The reception was attended by Mecislav Jablonsky, deputy CSSR minister of foreign affairs, August A. Busch, president of the administrative council of the Anheuser-Busch Companies Inc. and Byron B. Morton, U.S. charge d'affaires in the CSSR. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

TASS CITED ON U.S. SENATE RESOLUTION ON POLAND

DW161333 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1206 GMT 16 Dec 80

[International press review]

[Excerpt] [Program moderator] A TASS commentary on a U.S. Senate resolution on Poland, which the GDR press also publishes today, states: [announcer] Another step has been taken in the campaign to fan antisocialist and anti-Soviet hysteria, which lately has been promoted with particular zeal by certain U.S. quarters. The Senate of the U.S. Congress approved a resolution based on malicious fabrications about Soviet-Polish relations which calls for the discussion of potential measures against the USSR and which advocates the inclusion of the allies of the United States in this whole bag of tricks, to put it mildly.

This action must be valued as another provocation, as another attempt on the part of Washington to interfere in the internal affairs of the sovereign Polish state. It puts its stakes on fanning anti-Sovietism and on encouraging anti government and antisocialist elements in Poland. The Senate resolution reveals that people in Washington at the same time stubbornly refuse to abandon the hope to involve the West European NATO partners of the United States, including those adopting a sober stance on the issue, more and more deeply in the campaign of aggravating tensions in Poland.

[Program moderator] Even earlier antisocialist fabrications and falsifications of all kinds have been launched in the United States more than once, the TASS commentary notes in this context, and it continues by saying:

[Announcer] The authors of these falsifications, who for years determined the climate in Washington's policy and who are now in the process of leaving the political stage, ought to realize at least now that no political dividends can be earned with anti-Sovietism and the exploitation of lies. As far as the current attempts by certain circles in the United States are concerned, aimed at encouraging the antisocialist elements in Poland by dramatizing the situation in Europe, there is but one thing to say: Poland does not belong to the sphere of NATO. It was, is and remains a member of Warsaw Pact and a country of the socialist community. One can only be surprised to note that this incontestable truth escaped the authors of the resolution adopted by the U.S. Senate who like so much to meddle in other people's affairs.

W. BERLIN MEETINGS EXTRADITION REFUSAL PROTESTED

LD161756 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1710 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 16 Dec (ADN)--The GDR has again lodged a protest with the West Berlin Senat against the illegal meetings by sections of the Bundesrat and the Laender of the FRG in West Berlin. At a meeting between the representative of the GDR Government, Ambassador Dr Walter Mueller, with the representative of the West Berlin Senat, Senatsrat Gerhard Kunze, which took place today at the GDR Foreign Ministry, it was stressed that such activities in West Berlin were contrary to the accords and agreements concluded and that they only served to burden detente and the relations.

The GDR representative underlined that the refusal so far by the Senat to extradite the GDR citizen Egon Bunge to the GDR must be assessed as a further gross expression of this policy. Bunge is highly suspected of having killed on 4 November 1980 with malice aforethought and treacherously on GDR territory an active member of the GDR Border Troops, Ullrich Steinhauer.

At the meeting, the demand for his extradition was emphasized, and at the same time a strong protest was lodged against the blatant disregard of the sovereignty, citizenship and territorial integrity of the GDR, which serves the West Berlin justice organs as a welcome pretext in order to protect Bunge from his lawful judges.

With reference to the public discussion held in West Berlin about the municipal railway service in West Berlin, the competence of the GDR Ministry for Transportation on these questions was stressed at the meeting, along with the reminder that for years the GDR has submitted constructive proposals for the inclusion of the S-Bahn into a rational shaping of commuter traffic in West Berlin. These proposals have up till now met with no reply from the Senat and its departments.

The GDR representative strongly rejected attempts by the Senat representative to interfere in GDR internal affairs.

HONECKER MEETS WITH VISITING SRI LANKAN MINISTER

LD161618 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1153 GMT 15 Dec 80

[text] Berlin, 15 Dec (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received on Monday in Berlin at the official seat of the Council of State Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed, foreign minister of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, for a friendly talk. Hameed, who is on an official visit to the GDR, conveyed greetings from President Junius Richard Jayewardene, which Erich Honecker cordially reciprocated.

Erich Honecker and Foreign Minister Hameed noted with satisfaction that friendly relations are developing between the GDR and Sri Lanka for the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of peace and detente. They expressed the certainty that the talks and agreements during Foreign Minister Hameed's stay in the GDR will give further impulses to the cooperation between the two states.

When discussing important questions of world politics, the two sides expressed their concern about the deterioration of the international situation and emphasized their states' and peoples' interest in the continuation of detente.

Erich Honecker referred to the constructive and realistic peace proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact member states. One essential objective of the GDR's foreign-policy activities is to contribute toward specific results in the area of arms limitation and disarmament.

Situated at the dividing line of two contrary social systems, the GDR regards the maintenance of peace as a basic precondition for its further stable and dynamic development, for fulfilling the great tasks which the impending 10th SED Congress is to adopt.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the role of the nonaligned movement. The GDR supports its objectives directed against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism as well as for peace, on a democratic and equal basis. Erich Honecker wished the friendly people of Sri Lanka new successes in the peaceful construction of its future.

The talk was attended by Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs.

MEETING WITH SOVIET ECONOMISTS ON WORK PLANS ENDS

AU162200 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--On Friday the joint commission of USSR and GDR economists at the academies of science of the two countries wound up its sixth session on the theme: "The Growing Role of the Socialist World System in the Revolutionary World Process--Socio-Economic Processes."

Central to the exchange of opinions of several days under the leadership of academy member Prof Helmut Koziolok and academy member Prof Aleksey Runyantsev were the constantly growing influence of socialism on the social progress of mankind, the unfolding of the advantages of the socialist societal order as a historic process, the role of socialism in international economic relations as well as problems of the ideological class struggle. Problems related to socialist economic integration in strengthening the positions of socialism in the conflict between the socialist and capitalist systems took up much time in the talks.

The discussion reflected the continuity of the theoretical concepts of economic policy in the USSR and GDR in ensuring stable economic growth and a constant increase in national income on the basis of accelerating scientific-technical progress and of increasing the effectiveness of social production.

The sixth conference also approved the plan of themes for the commission's work for 1981-85.

CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION PLANNED WITH CSSR

LD170157 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] The GDR and the CSSR signed a plan in Berlin today to implement the agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation up to 1985. Deputy Foreign Minister Bernhard Neugebauer and Dusan Spacil made short speeches praising the results achieved in these fields. They have helped to deepen the friendship between the fraternal countries. The document provides for the consistent continuation and intensification of cooperation in science, education, culture and the arts as well as other fields. Cooperation in research and contacts between scientific and artistic institutions is to be particularly promoted.

KESSLER SAYS NATO PROJECTS INCREASE 'DANGER OF WAR'

LD162018 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 16 Dec (ADN)--The activities of the most reactionary imperialist circles are aimed at changing the military balance in their favor. This was stated by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy defense minister and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army at a conference today of the senior staff of the Defense Ministry and the of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army with commanding, staff and political officers.

NATO's December meetings, Kessler said, has confirmed that the imperialist war pact is continuing swiftly with the proposed enormous arms projects at the expense of the working people, and raising its forces' preparedness for aggression. This endangers peace and the danger of war.

Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, Politburo member of the SED Central Committee and national defense minister, presided over the meeting.

SED MEMBERS SPEAK ON POLAND, FRG AT PLENUM

AU161000 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 13-14 December on pages 4-10 carries reports from speeches delivered by SED Central Committee members and candidate members at the 13th SED Central Committee plenum session on 11-12 December in Berlin, which include references to the events in Poland and to other foreign policy topics.

Waldemar Liemen, Central Committee candidate member and party secretary at the Werra Merkers potash enterprise, states in his report: "I can announce to the Central Committee and to the general secretary, so to speak in a miner's report, that there exists a reliable bulwark of the workers class here on the Werra, only a few meters from the state border with the imperialist FRG.

We fully regard ourselves as a bulwark, both above and below ground. We resolutely reject the brazen attempts at interfering in our internal affairs. We will not leave any nourishing soil in our area for the Federal German poisoners over the radio. In their political lives our working people see confirmed the fact that the 'main task' is the best policy for us. We daily feel the high recognition of our party leadership."

Johanna Toepfer, member of the Central Committee and deputy chairman of the FDGB Federal Executive, compares economic development in the GDR and the FRG, and quotes GDR working people, praising the gains under socialism. She says: "There are many thousands of such voices among the trade unionists' ranks. They suitably refute the questionable advice that we frequently receive from outside that under socialism the trade unions should only care about distribution of national income and not about how it is earned. We follow the good advice that Lenin gave the socialist trade unionists 60 years ago and which is fully applicable today, to consolidate socialism with great achievements in production so that the power of the workers class remains secure forever and that the workers class itself possesses every opportunity to fashion its own destiny as well as that of the entire people. These are the authentic interests of the workers class under socialism."

Referring to the recent accountability and election meetings of the party branches, Prof Moritz Mebel, Central Committee candidate member and director of the Urological Clinic of the Berlin-Friedrichshain City Hospital and head of the Urology Department of the Berlin Humboldt University, stated: "It became evident at the party elections that the discussion of problems of the international situation, which has become more complicated, occupied just as important a place as the debate about struggling for higher quality in care for the citizens. It was impressive to see that the events in the Polish People's Republic are being perceived as counterrevolutionary machinations of domestic and foreign reaction not only by our comrades but also by nonparty members. Progress is noted in general in that international class conflicts that are often difficult to perceive, are now being evaluated from our party positions."

In her speech in the discussion, Ingrid Nietzsche, Central Committee candidate member and director of the Voeten plant production state farm in Parchim Kreis, stressed the unbreakable alliance between the workers class and the class of cooperative farmers and other working people which should be strengthened today more than ever. "It becomes evident now--and the events in the Polish People's Republic also prove it--that as Lenin teaches us, the question in the class conflict between socialism and capitalism is always 'who-whom?' and history proves that where the proletariat does not dictate, the bourgeoisie does."

Reviewing preparations for the 10th SED Congress and the successful economic and social policy of the SED and its consistent peace course, Kurt Tiedke, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, noted that imperialist quarters are responding to the increased international prestige of the GDR with particular nervousness and undisguised fury:

"The fact is increasingly viewed as evidence of the aggressive nature of FRG imperialism and of its revanchist policy that just as in times of the cold war, imperialist propaganda centers have become active and are almost outdoing one another in malicious slanders of socialism or extolling antisocialist activities in the Polish People's Republic in the manner of Fascist front reports.

"The verdict of the FRG Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, which is contrary to international law is rejected and denounced as gross interference in the internal affairs of the GDR," Tiedke notes and continues:

"The interconnection between the intensified confrontation course of monopoly bourgeoisie and the activity of counterrevolutionary forces in Poland and the resulting danger to world peace are perceived increasingly clearly. This is also why the outcome of the meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states was received so attentively."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Editorial

LD151126 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0220 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 15 Dec (ADN)--The documents of the 13th SED Central Committee Meeting "show impressively how the general line of our party is being consistently realized for the well-being of the people, the strengthening of the workers' and peasants' power, and the safeguarding of peace in the GDR's domestic and foreign policies." This is noted by the GDR paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today in an editorial headlined "Party and People--United and Full of Energy Toward the 10th Party Congress." Referring to the comprehensive social movement in preparation of the party congress the paper continues: "Our Marxist-Leninist policy of alliance, grown and proven over decades, is here shown in action. At the center of the hitherto biggest popular initiative in our republic stands the socialist competition movement. In this connection, the role of the trade unions, the biggest class organization of workers in our republic, was emphasized. The trade unions powerfully promote and support the competition movement in honor of the party congress."

"The full accord in thought and action by the citizens of our socialist state is of special importance at a time of heightened international class strife. It underlines before the whole world that the GDR is a stable pillar of socialism and of peace in Europe," the paper notes. "The 13th Central Committee meeting made clear the way in which the party purposefully realizes its leading role in society. Its lively, convincing and militant politico-ideological work testifies to this. In a continuous dialogue with the people, the trade unions show that the good and proven policy of the SED is the expression of the workers', fundamental, immediate interests."

Referring to the international aspects of the meeting, the editorial continues: "The Central Committee meeting once again revealed the basic truth of this epoch that socialism and peace are one and the same. This is also exemplified by the GDR's intensive work in the international arena, as set out in the Politburo report."

"Especially in view of the deteriorating world situation caused by the imperialist policy of confrontation, threat and blackmail, boycott and interference, it is becoming increasingly clear that the strength of the socialist community, and its coordinated action are, in the international arena, the pledge for bringing about the permanent safeguarding of peace. The objective of our work for peace, detente and disarmament is to ensure peaceful external conditions for our further socialist development at home, for the realization of the program of full employment, national prosperity, growth and stability."

Unwaveringly, the GDR bears in mind history's exhortation that "never again must war emanate from German soil." Hence, we continue to be guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence in our relations with the FRG, in the interest of peace and of the peoples. However, in this we do not overlook the contradictions between words of peace from the FRG and the dangerous facts of the NATO arms drive which the FRG at the same time helps to create.

"Anyone who, like FRG Foreign Minister Genscher at the latest NATO meeting in Brussels, calls for a policy of interference, threat and boycott against the socialist countries, who continues to believe in the fiction of the 'German the 1937 borders,' who believes in revanchist dreams and the anarchistic [anarchistischen] doctrine of 'keeping the German question open', lays mines against detente on our continent. And he must not be surprised when one day he is confronted by the broken pieces of his own policy."

Shaping normal relations between the GDR and FRG which, for peace in Europe, are of no small importance, demands that those principles be respected without any subtraction, as is customary in relations between sovereign states. In this case, they are relations between two sovereign states independent of each other and who each represent opposing and irreconcilable social systems. Only if this is accepted, without any reservations, can progress be made as regards the GDR and FRG. 'Then,' the plenum noted, 'new, positive results in the normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG can be achieved despite all hindrances.'"

Fischer Address

LD122130 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 12 Dec (ADN)--During the discussion at the 13th meeting of the SED Central Committee the GDR foreign minister, Oskar Fischer, also spoke and said:

"In the report of the Politburo, which I endorse, it is noted that the preservation of peace and its consolidation for years and decades ahead is and will remain the vital question for mankind.

Nothing makes the gravity of this sentence more plain than the present international situation and the tremendous efforts which the Soviet Union and the socialist states allied with it--and not least our republic--are undertaking to prevent any further deterioration of the world situation and developments from sliding into a new world war."

"A consistent thread runs from the May meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states to the Moscow meeting of the leading representatives of the socialist peace alliance. The objective is, as the declaration of the Politburo of 9 December on the Moscow meeting puts it, to consistently continue the endeavors in the fight for peace, international security, arms limitation and disarmament, to thwart the course of the arms race and confrontation pursued by the aggressive and reactionary circles of imperialism, and to achieve, through a persistent and constructive approach, practical results in the negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament.

Lately we have noted, not without surprise, that NATO, in the disarmament question, withdraws its own proposals when the Soviet Union and the states of the socialist community are prepared to include them in their initiatives concerning the safeguarding of peace. This is shown at the Vienna conference on the limitation of troops and arms in central Europe as well as in the further handling of the ratification of SALT II.

Now there is only talk of the SALT process despite the fact that about a year ago the ratification of SALT II and negotiations on questions of SALT III were publicly called preconditions for endorsing the Brussels missile decision. Hence, the report of the Politburo rightly stated that the aggravation of the international situation has been prepared by the aggressive NATO bloc in the long-term.

However, the height of shamelessness in dealing with truth is represented by the behavior of the aggressive NATO circles in connection with the events in the People's Republic of Poland. While at the Moscow meeting questions of peace, detente, disarmament, cooperation of states irrespective of social order were at the center, NATO at its latest meeting interferes crassly in the affairs of the People's Republic of Poland, in the affairs of the member states of the Warsaw Pact.

Is it not typical that at a time in which many responsible politicians in all continents of the world are expressing their concern about the consequences of this constantly escalating course of confrontation, appealing for circumspection, reason and understandings, politicians, whose whole thinking is directed at how to promote tensions, poison the political atmosphere, disrupt the dialogue between East and West, and how to end detente, are meeting in Brussels.

The NATO states are to commit themselves to the following four points, it was leaked through the undoubtedly firmly locked doors:

1. To break off all negotiations with the Soviet Union on disarmament, economic and financial questions;
2. To end the so-called special relations between the GDR and the EEC;
3. To stop all political contacts at high level, and
4. The cultural exchange with the socialist states.

This is not only gross interference which will meet with the relevant rebuff by the peoples. This is, at the same time, an irresponsible and enormous provocation which is primarily directed against the interests of the West European peoples. But doubtless a move which will backfire!

To us it is interesting that in this the FRG Government has buried completely its great-Germany Rutli Oaths [meadow in central Switzerland where, according to legend, representatives of Uri, Scheyz and Unterwalden met in 1307 to swear the Rutli Oath on which Swiss freedom was founded]. It is once again apparent that the FRG is more interested in the arms drive, the policies of threat and boycott than in adhering to the concluded Moscow, Warsaw and Berlin treaties.

One can only hope that there won't be any lamenting in Bonn when they have to look at the broken fragments of what has been achieved in the past 10 years as regards cooperation between East and West.

And should they carry out their--to put it mildly--threats at blackmail, they cannot blame us if they break the transit agreement and the basic treaty, on the orders of the United States, on the orders of NATO, by removing their bases.

It remains to be hoped that the door of reason will remain open.

We seriously point to the strict adherence to the treaty on the bases of relations between the GDR and FRG. The preamble commits both sides "to make a contribution toward detente and security in Europe" and to refrain in mutual relations from threats or the use of force.

That is the course, that is the word of our party; but the other side should note: Relations have never been and never are a gift from one side to another. Perhaps those responsible in Bonn ought to reflect on that.

Our party, as evidenced by the Politburo report, takes decisions calmly and with deliberation. The workers of our socialist homeland will not be made unsure or be intimidated. Aware of the power inherent in socialism, inherent in the community of socialist states, they prepare themselves with worthy deeds for the 10th SED Congress.

MITTAG COMMENTS ON NEED TO INCREASE PRODUCTION

LD161346 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Following through discussion, five People's Chamber committees approved today in Berlin the bills for the 1981 economic plan and the 1981 state budget plan. In the committee responsible for industry, construction and transport Chairman Guenter Mittag stressed the commitment entered into by the great majority of the work teams to achieve an additional day's production of industrial goods by the 10th SED Congress and to over-fulfill the plan targets for the whole year by 1 percent. He said that everywhere it is a question of increasing the contribution to the national income and of decisively improving the cost-benefit ratio. For this a radical increase in efficiency levels in research and development and in construction and technology is required in order to achieve broader top quality performances.

TISCH INTERVIEWED ON TRADE UNION RESPONSIBILITY

LD161432 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] A few days after the 13th [SED Central Committee] meeting the FDGB Executive held its 12th meeting today. It discussed trade union tasks in preparing for the 10th SED Congress and the 1981 plan year. Here is an interview given by FDGB Chairman Harry Tisch to our reporter Wolfgang Zach:

[Begin recording] [Question] Today's meeting, Mr Chairman, may perhaps be summed up by my saying that it furnished another clear proof of the commitment and expertise with which our trade unions are discharging their responsibility for strengthening our country. What is the source of this growing sense of responsibility, particularly in economic matters?

[Answer] It stems from the status of the trade unions in the socialist society. We are representing the interests of the ruling working class, which owns the means of production. Ever more comprehensively it is taking a direct part in the planning and management of all public affairs. As for the new economic plan which our People's Chamber will adopt the day after tomorrow, we have received more than 1 million specific proposals. In our socialist competition we have achieved a 2-day lead over the plan. Each day tens of thousands of innovators' proposals are submitted. Hundreds of thousands are active in various trade union bodies, factories, schools, residential areas and elsewhere. It is a visible sign that our trade union work is exercise of power in action. It is the exercise of power for the further all-round strengthening of our socialist fatherland. Economic matters play a crucial role. We all want our lives to become richer and more meaningful. But we must first produce everything we are going to consume. That is why we discussed so intensively today the 1981 budget plan, its targets and how best to fulfill them.

[Question] Once again, this is quite a plan.

[Answer] Indeed, because we are proposing a lot and because there are new conditions to which we have to adapt ourselves in our day-to-day work. We want, in brief, productivity, efficiency and quality on an unprecedented scale.

[Question] The Zeiss workers have stated this clearly and drawn the proper conclusions.

[Answer] That is why their contribution is so exemplary for all combines and enterprises. We need everywhere such an attitude to science and technology and reducing costs in labor, materials and energy. We need a high increase in productivity and products which will earn us plenty of money. Let us use the last days of the year to consolidate what we have achieved and make the new plan year still more successful with the verve and vigor of our party congress initiatives.

[Question] Citing the results mentioned at the 13th SED Central Committee meeting and what has been said at the FDGB Executive meeting today, we are entering the new plan year with good results and much useful experience. Trade union responsibility, it was clearly said, means a clear political attitude toward the basic issues of our time, for example, the preservation of peace and the pursuit of detente.

[Answer] You are quite right. All our plans, our work, make sense only in peace. That is why the struggle for peace and against all who threaten it is an important trade union job, particularly at this time.

Imperialism has aggravated the international situation, NATO's arms buildup and speeding up of the arms race, imperialist attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries endanger peace and security. The FDGB, aware of its responsibility, endorses the results of the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Pact states. We will effectively marshal our strength to counter the attempts by the class opponent to stop or reverse the march of history. Our republic's economic capacity and economic advance are a crucial factor. With this knowledge we are tackling our new tasks.

I wish all our members much vigor and good health. [end recording]

GERSTNER REVIEWS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS FOR 1980'S

DW161350 East Berlin Domestic Service 1005 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Dr Karlheinz Gerstner's "Sunday Economic Review"]

[Text] Dear listeners, I wish you a good Sunday. The national economic plan of 1981 was on the agenda of last week's plenary session. It was necessary to examine the results of 1980 in order to determine the starting basis for the next year. At the same time, however, 1981 is the first year of the next 5-year plan. So one must know the general line of this 5-year plan period, and we know it.

Working out the economic strategy for the coming years, for the eighties, belongs to the advanced forward-oriented preparations for the 10th party congress, where the new 5-year plan, the economic strategy of the eighties, will be discussed. This strategy is different in basic points from the past. This is a result of the completely new situation of energy and raw material problems, the complicated foreign trade conditions, the deterioration of the international economic situation and new territorial defense demands.

For working out the economic strategy of the eighties--which has been under way for quite some time and which was clearly shown by the 13th plenum--the 11th plenum and Erich Honecker's Gera speech are of basic significance. It is advisable to look through these two documents once more. We will learn details of the 1981 national economy plan at next week's People's Chamber session.

My listeners, the results of this year were outlined at the 13th plenum, results available by the end of November. The following picture can be seen: The industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 0.9 percent. In absolute figures it means that industrial production amounted in late November to M14.5 billion more than last year's production result in the same period. That is evidence of our dynamic economic development. Most combines have achieved a lead of 2 days, a lead they have committed themselves to achieve.

An outstanding result of this year is the fact that high production growth has been achieved for the first time without higher energy consumption. This is a sign that the persistently pursued rationalization of energy consumption has made considerable headway. One can say in general that we have made good progress in rationalization--this important matter--thanks to scientific-technical progress which has been promoted with all means. The production of rationalization means in plants achieved M1.7 billion in the first 3 quarters, so that far more than M2 billion will be achieved by the end of this year. This will be M252 million more than last year.

My listeners, the enormous volume of rationalization means construction, which was unknown to us 10 years ago as a purposeful production installation, is one of the most important reasons for our production increase and the constant, considerable increase of our work productivity. It includes also the increased production of industrial robot systems, this highest form of automation. Intense work is going on in many machine construction and electrotechnical plants on the construction of robot systems. At present 220 robot systems are being used in industrial plants. But more are facing completion or being already tested. In the next 5-year plan the number of robot systems is supposed to increase until 1985 to a total of at least 9,000, which would amount to the release of 25,000 to 30,000 workers. This is a most important development of our rationalization aimed at increased work productivity.

My listeners, microelectronics is the most fantastic rationalization means of our time. We have made such rapid progress in past years and particularly this year, that the introduction of microelectronics in various economic fields is lagging behind. It is most urgent now for all combines as well as other fields, such as agriculture, transportation and trade to apply the offered microelectronics and to exploit the offered great rationalization opportunities as quickly as possible.

The GDR already belongs to those industrial countries which produce important technological equipment for the production of microelectronic components of the newest standard as well as microelectronic switching circuits and modules. We have created the prerequisites in a short time--more than 100,000 people work in the field of microelectronics--to cut down the existing lag in the eighties with regard to international standards and to dominate the international level of microelectronics in certain fields.

This measure and many others demonstrate that we are working purposefully and successfully on the modernization of our economy in order to cope with the demands of the eighties.

My listeners, let us cast a glance at 1980 and at what it has brought us with regard to our living standard. As regards housing construction, 147,557 apartments have been turned over; by the end of the year some 166,000 apartments will be ready, which is more than envisaged by the plan. Most housing construction combines have achieved a 2-day lead with regard to the plan. So 500,000 people have moved into modern apartments this year. That is an important progress with a view to the living standard of these citizens--it is something we consider most important.

More apartments, namely 174,500, will be built next year. We will step up our housing construction program in every year of the two next 5-year plans in order to achieve the aim in 1990, the aim of solving the apartment problem. Our housing construction program is one of the most important social achievements of the present, and it is and remains the core of our state's social policy. Minister of construction Jenker, said at the 13th plenum that the housing construction program will be fulfilled point by point.

Dear listeners, retail trade turnover increased by 4 percent. The turnover of industrial goods increased by 5.5 percent. Some 30 percent more color television sets were sold this year than last year, some 12 percent more vacuum cleaners, some 9 percent more [words indistinct] wristwatches, some 10 percent more kitchen furniture, some 6 percent more underwear for children, some 12 percent more detergents, just to quote some of the positions with a high growth rate.

What is inseparably linked with the production of high-quality technical goods in keeping with demands is the production, commensurate with demands, of the thousands of petty items and the provision of the required spare parts. Spare-parts production has been increased considerably, yet it has not been possible to this day to stabilize the spare parts supply in important fields. The political weight of this issue was underscored once again at the 13th plenum. This plenum also endorsed the decisions to guarantee the consumer goods supply in the lower, medium, and upper price groups.

It is very important that the consumer prices for the products of basic needs as well as of the broad assortment of industrial consumer goods with standard quality have been maintained without any changes in the GDR for more than two decades. This is applicable to 80 percent of the commodities for the consumer supply. Prices for all services and rents remained stable 100 percent without any changes whatsoever.

Dear listeners, one of the big items on the credit page of our work this year is agriculture. Despite adverse weather conditions--you will recall the wet period--the LPG peasants and farmworkers brought in a good harvest.

In vegetable production the plan was exceeded by 2 percent. This year we scored the third best grain harvest since the establishment of the republic. With a yield of 38.1 quintals per hectare it exceeded the planned per-hectare yield by 1.1 quintal. The overall grain yield amounts to 9.6 million tons or 8.9 percent more than last year. The performance of our LPG peasants in 1980 constitutes an asset of our socialist agricultural policy.

Losses in yields were incurred in potatoes because of the moisture, and their quality also suffered because of that moisture. In livestock production all positions were exceeded. Compared with last year the production increase amounted to 72,000 tons of meat, 135,000 tons of milk, and 240 million eggs. Let us not forget in this connection that considerable imports of grain and fodder, primarily from the nonsocialist economic area, were necessary for the high level of livestock production.

Dear listeners, the economic and sociopolitical successes outlined here prove convincingly that the party leadership, at the time when the profound changes in the international economic situation took shape in the second half of the seventies, quickly drew conclusions and developed an economic strategy which took the completely changed situation into account. This economic strategy entailed structural changes in energy policy, in the electrical engineering industry, in chemistry, and in metallurgy. Absolute priority was accorded to scientific-technical progress to achieve a general modernization of our economy. Millions of working people understood this line and supported it with outstanding performance. As a result, the above-average increase in output was achieved allowing us to maintain our standard of living. Let me emphasize this: Without this increase in output we would have been unable to maintain our standards. Just look how many countries which failed to achieve such an increase in performance cannot cope with the burdens of billions caused by the price explosion and are plunged into the greatest economic and social difficulties, as we can observe daily in all the world.

The GDR is weathering these tests better, which is also recognized internationally. The line of our economic policy is proving its worth, and we will continue to pursue it. It is with interest that we are looking forward to the People's Chamber meeting next week.

BRIEFS

DONATIONS TO AFGHANISTAN--Kabul, 14 Dec (ADN)--A special Interflug flight arrived in Kabul today with 10 tons of solidarity goods on board. The consignment, which was financed by donations from the people of the GDR, was put together by the GDR solidarity committee and the Ministry of Education and consists of teaching equipment, exercise books and writing utensils. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1542 GMT 14 Dec 80 LD]

NEWS AGENCY COOPERATION--Berlin 11 Dec (ADN)--The extension of the existing friendly cooperation between the news agencies of the GDR and the republic of Mali was the subject of talks which took place at the ADN offices in Berlin on Thursday with the general director of AMAP [Malian Press and Publicity Agency]--Sheikh Mouctary Diarba. Agreement was reached on steps for an intensified exchange of news and photographs and for support of the further development of AMAP. [Text] [East Berlin in ADN International Service in German 1521 GMT 11 Dec 80 LD]

AMBASSADOR TO PERU--Lima (ADN)--Arthur Hoeltge, newly appointed GDR ambassador of the GDR to Peru, presented his credentials to Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry on Tuesday. Ambassador Hoeltge conveyed the greetings of GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and expressed the GDR's wish for further successful development of bilateral relations. The Peruvian president returned the greetings and advocated a fruitful cooperation in the economic and scientific field. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

ACZEL, CULTURAL DELEGATION RETURN FROM MOSCOW

LD170026 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Excerpt] The delegation headed by Deputy Premier Gyorgy Aczel, which took part in a session of the Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Commission, has arrived home from Moscow.

COMMUNIQUE WITH AFGHAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY ISSUED

LD161154 Budapest MTI in English 1701 GMT 15 Dec 80

["Hungarian-Afghan Party Communique"--MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, December 15 (MTI)--A delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan led by Mahmud Barialay, member of the Central Committee and the Revolutionary Council, head of the Central Committee foreign affairs department, paid a visit to Hungary from December 8 to 14, 1980 at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee.

The Afghan delegation was received by Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Central Committee and head of the CC foreign affairs department, held talks with the guests. During the talks marked by a cordial atmosphere and a spirit of full agreement, the representatives of the two parties informed each other on their countries' situation, their parties' activities at home and abroad, as well as on the tasks they are facing. Views were exchanged on international issues, with special regard to the latest developments in the Middle East.

The HSWP representatives confirmed the Hungarian communists' solidarity with the Afghan people which, guided by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, is working to realize the goals of the April revolution and build the new society, and is fighting to safeguard the revolutionary achievements, guarantee the country's independence and sovereignty in the face of interventionist attempts by imperialist forces and their allies. They pledged support for the international initiatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Afghan Government, aimed at the political settlement of the situation around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and at consolidating peace, detente and the spirit of cooperation among peoples in the region. The Afghan delegation expressed its recognition over the results of Hungary's working population.

The representatives of the two parties stressed that in the present international situation when the extremist circles of imperialism are stepping up their attack against the policy of detente, there is no task more urgent than to strengthen common action by forces fighting to ease tensions, curb warlike endeavours, consolidate world peace, diminish the arms race and promote international security and social progress. They deem it important that the Madrid meeting dealing with [word indistinct] of peace and security in Europe, perform its work in a constructive spirit and take practical move at a fullest possible implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as a whole. The sides emphasized that in the Middle East as well as in other regions of the world, the increasing hotbeds of tension and mainly the armed conflicts of states pursuing an anti-imperialist policy, not only jeopardize security in the given area, but also escalate the danger of a world war and favour the aspirations of the imperialist powers.

During the talks the sides reviewed the state of inter-party relations and signed a cooperation accord between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Collaboration is a good device to intensify friendly ties between the two countries and peoples, and serves the common cause of the struggle for social progress.

TRADE UNION ISSUES DISCUSSED AT CONGRESS

MAGYAR NEMZET Evaluation

LD161204 Budapest MTI in English 1048 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 16 Dec (MTI)--The December 16 issue of the paper of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front MAGYAR NEMZET evaluates in a leader headed "sound program" the recent 24th congress of the Hungarian trade unions and the program adopted there.

"It goes to the credit of workers, agricultural workers, intellectuals rallied by trade unions, that is of every organized Hungarian worker, that the congress--following the guidance of the 12th Congress of the HSWP--could adopt a report and work out a program that increases the self-confidence of the Hungarian people building the advanced socialist society, describes our achievements in the light of realities, and mentions the tasks we must tackle", the Budapest paper stresses.

"It is concomitant to our development that problems emerge in the political, economic and cultural field which must be kept in evidence, difficulties must be faced and these need thorough, responsible work. This congress ventured--and fulfilled its mission honestly--to look for the answer to the questions how to work better and attain more results, by relying on the masses of the trade union organization."

MAGYAR NEMZET explains that today in Hungary the trade unions back with every means available to them the policy of the party, as the trade unions work shoulder to shoulder with the vanguard of the working class on strengthening the workers' power, building the socialist society, while acting on behalf and in the interest of the organized workers.

"These seemingly different two tasks really agree well. For the managers of large enterprises the most important thing is fulfilment of the production plans--with observance of the workers' interests. The trade union officials, stewards also consider economic-production problems, and fulfilment of this double function is a uniform task. The actual subjects of the 24th congress were approached from various directions which finally produced a program which embraces every question of the organized workers' life. It is a sound program, a definite and versatile one, and suitable to give the trade unions an appropriate say into the affairs of the companies and the country", stresses MAGYAR NEMZET in conclusion.

Gaspar Address 12 Dec

AU162021 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 13 Dec 80 pp 3-5

[Speech by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council and MSZMP Politburo Member, at the 12 December session of the 24th congress of the Hungarian trade unions in Budapest: "Report of the National Trade Union Council; Speech by Sandor Gaspar, the Official in Charge"]

[Text] Esteemed congress, dear comrades:

We laid down our tasks at our 23d congress so as to be able to promote the attainment of our social objectives and our people's and country's prosperity and intellectual and material enrichment on a higher standard.

We have not announced a new program. We have not set ourselves new objectives. Strengthening the workers' power and representing and protecting the interests of the working people have always been and remain the fundamental task and mission of the trade union movement.

We have drawn up the balance sheet of work in the past 5 years. It is incorporated in the written report. It is not our task to analyze the social situation in general; that has been done by our party's 12th congress. We agree with that analysis.

What we now have to ask ourselves is: On what standard, how efficiently have we worked? Have we fulfilled the constantly increasing role we are playing in social life? Are we able to represent our members' interests and aspirations?

In our judgement, the trade union movement in Hungary has the political, legal and organizational movement possibilities which make meeting rising requirements possible. The trade union movement has occupied the position that belongs to it by its historical right. It has a share in power and it does not merely assist in the realization of policies but it also takes part in the formation and shaping of policy.

The fundamental statements concerning the general principles of trade union activity are correct and valid even today. However, this does not mean that things should not change. We must open up new paths. Guidance is given for this by Leninist teaching and we may also rely on the traditions of the Hungarian trade union movement. On the basis of this, and building on the foundations of our own views, we have set off on the road.

As the result of a long process that has not yet ended, the relationship of the trade unions with the party, the government and with the workers' power has been established. This relationship has not always been settled. We have our own historical experiences to prove that the role of trade unions does not become established and does not develop automatically and on its own even within socialist conditions.

If there are distortions in policies, and there were such distortions in our society before 1956, then this will have its effect on the assertion of the role of the trade unions. The peculiar cult of personality in Hungary resulted in ascribing characteristics to the party which it never had and can never have; that is to say, some people believed that it was capable of doing everything itself.

Everything was in formal order, there were trade unions; however, they had no sphere of authority or a true legal sphere. The peculiarity of this period was that in everyday terms the trade union movement was doing exactly the same thing as the party and the government, and was also doing it in exactly the same way. As a result, the trade union movement lost its character and profile.

The MSZMP has recognized that a clean break had to be made with this mode of thinking and this practice. In socialist conditions the people and the working class are the owners. The party, the government and the trade unions together serve the people, the working class and the workers, and they do this in accordance with their own profession.

The division of labor thus created has had as its consequence the fact that the party can, as a leading force, build on the foundations of the trade unions which work autonomously. The party can compare different views and experiences and reach decisions on the basis of this. In order to ensure that the leading force of society may bring about a synthesis there is a need for different views from which it may choose the best.

Socialist construction work contains many unknown factors even today. There is a need for thinking. The larger the number of organizations that carry on these reflections on the basis of their own knowledge, preparations and mass bases, the smaller is the possibility of making mistakes.

There must be different views to make up the debate. It is not by accident that an element has been established in the governing of society in accordance with which no decision may be reached without the participation of the trade unions in any significant issues affecting the living and working conditions of the worker class and the working people or those affecting social development as a whole.

If the development of socialist society has its own laws--and indeed there are such laws--then, in my view, what I have just said is one of them.

We Are Strengthening the Workers' Power Through Our Entire Activity

On an international scale, the debate has not abated--indeed, it has become even more lively recently--about what role is being played by the trade unions under the conditions of a socialist society. A great many factors intermingle in this debate, and the motives of disputes are also quite different.

Many people fail to comprehend that the socialist trade unions cooperate with the state. Those who adopt this view miss the independence of the trade unions. Our view is well-known also on this issue.

Neither opposition to the government, nor independence constitute a permanent designation for the trade unions. They prevail in a given social-historical phase. They are natural in a capitalist society, but not natural in socialism. They are useful in a capitalist society, but constitute forms that are useless under changed social conditions.

If trade unions operating in the capitalist countries abandoned their position of consistent opposition, they could do so only at the price of making concessions to exploiters to the detriment of their own class base. By so doing, however, they would abandon the cause of serving their own class.

By virtue of our contacts, we are acquainted with all the trade unions of Europe.

We respect the activity they are carrying out within the conditions of their own societies. It is not our task to pass value judgements about their activities. Each trade union must decide for itself where and what it should do. This is the case with us, too. In the final analysis, the trade union organization of each country is responsible for its activities only to its own members.

Trade unions can never be the mere instruments of a given government or party policy. It is just and understandable if the revolutionary trade union movement in the capitalist countries declares and endeavors to assert the slogan of independence from the state and the parties.

The slogan of the independence of trade unions means in this context that the trade unions want to defend the complete freedom of action of the working class and the working people against the capitalist system. The role of trade unions as an opposition in capitalism is a necessary consequence of their commitment to the cause of their class.

However, the role of opposition is neither a goal nor a general characteristic of trade union work which is supposed to be valid forever. In the conditions of socialism the nature of power is transformed. A workers' state is established, which strives to accomplish objectives identical with the endeavors of the working people and the trade unions.

Trade unions cannot remain in a posture of irreconcilable opposition in all circumstances. But so doing they would turn against their own class basis; and they have to keep on serving the class which created the trade unions and keeps them alive. For this reason strikes cannot be a method of building the socialist society.

There cannot be such a method because all the means available to us improve the conditions of the workers and make their lives better. Not even strikes can help in the fulfillment of requirements which cannot be met today because of the absence of material and other possibilities. We would not get richer as a result of strikes; we would only get poorer.

The slogans of opposition and independence in our conditions could only be asserted by the trade unions as a program opposed to the socialist state and the communist party. However, what would it mean for practical purposes for the trade unions to be independent?

Should they refrain from taking part in decision making? Should they not participate in the active administration and supervision of the affairs of society? Should they reject cooperation with the socialist state, the other socialist forces and the broad masses? Should they resign from their role of having a say not just critically from outside but from inside as well, from inside the position of government directly, and in a practical representation of the workers?

The State and Trade Union Organs Are Equal Partners.

The trade unions cannot, therefore, remain independent of the party which formulates and implements the policy of workers' power, and what is more, they consider this policy as their own. In our country the trade union movement is carrying out its work in an autonomous way but not independently. The policy of building a socialist society is our own policy as well. That is why, and in this manner, the Hungarian trade union movement is a committed movement.

Esteemed comrades, comprehension and the prevalence of the trade unions' autonomy require us to define the fundamental content of our social-political commitment more precisely than heretofore. Its essence is the relationship to and the approval of the socialist social system. Through our entire activity, we strengthen and support the workers' power.

Society's objectives are not immaterial for us. We regard them as our own. However, this requires better understanding of the trade unions' role in the development and accomplishment of the main tasks.

We must not restrict our own attention and the attention of our membership to execution alone. We must learn to know better and express better the demands and aims of our membership regarding the building and development of socialist society. The daily tasks arising from accomplishment of the major tasks must be defined, and the steps pertaining to their execution must be worked out on that basis.

In the everyday questions of socialist construction, the trade unions must preserve the freedom of their opinions and actions. This must also prevail in the practical work of the trade unions. The trade unions must take their stands with political courage but with responsibility regarding questions coming under their competence. Anxious self-restraint, uncertainty and an incomprehensible opinion are still encountered in positions adopted by the trade unions today. When that is the case, their autonomous countenance fades and they do not fulfill their tasks.

By sharing power, the trade unions have not by any means turned into "state organizations" in a socialist society. The socialist state and the trade unions are linked by the basic identity of aims, but their practical functions are different. The socialist state does not control the activities of the trade unions but on the other hand the state's activities are under the control of the masses. In this social control the trade unions are also taking part.

The state and trade union organs are equal partners at all levels; there is no relationship of subordination or superiority between them. Their task is to cooperate for the common goal and to help each other. Joint and separate responsibility for individual tasks must be precisely delineated and positions must always be compared.

Our cooperation with the state and economic organs for the attainment of joint aims naturally includes the understanding that if the decisions of some state or economic organs are harming the interests of the workers or are violating laws, then we must take a firm stand against this. To this end we have every means at our disposal all the way up to the right to veto.

Consultations between the trade unions of industrial sectors are ministers, county, state and trade union leaders and directors and trade union secretaries are of great significance in this cooperation. [paragraph continues]

We must single out in particular the regular contacts between the government and National Trade Union Council [SZOT] leaders over the past 20 years or so. Regular participation of an SZOT representative in government sessions has become another well-proven practice.

These meetings do not always take place in a spirit of complete agreement. There are also varied and lively disputes. However, we are not bent on defending prestige in the disputes, but on serving the cause of the working people and society. This is a highly valuable practice, a practice that benefits the work of socialist construction.

The trade unions regard this joint work--and I believe that the government also agrees with this--as correct and useful. However, in the interests of further developing cooperation, greater attention should be paid to negotiations preceding decisions than heretofore.

Our Tasks in Protecting and Representing Interests.

Esteemed congress, the homogeneity of activities in representing interests, protecting interests and supporting the economy constitutes a fundamental issue of trade union activity. Most of the difficulties today lie in asserting their activities in representing and protecting interests.

How does this difficulty manifest itself? It lies in the fact that exercising our activity in representing interests devolved essentially on the leading trade union organs to date. They developed the trade unions' views with regard to concepts of the government and various state organs. Up to now, this practice has met the requirements, but we must now move ahead: Means also presented by direct democracy must be taken consistently into consideration.

Prior to developing their opinion, leading trade union bodies must solicit the views of members, stewards and the organs of stewards on every important issue. There will now be a few good opportunities for this.

Introducing a 5-day work week will have to be decided on next year. It will be definitely correct if details of it were to be discussed in various areas of work--by the ironworkers, teachers and the working people of trade--that is, by the people concerned and if these people were to express their views before a decision is reached.

For the worker class, the function of interest protection provides even today the historic justification of the trade unions. Without this, even under socialism the trade union would not be a trade union. The trade union is capable of bringing to the surface the differences of interests and views inherent in society.

It is not against a strong and experienced exploiting class and its state power that the interests of the working people have to be asserted. It is not people leading an uncertain existence, intimidated by police oppression and terrorism and slack public safety and withdrawn into the imaginary secure shell of their private lives who have to be organized.

The trade unions do not have to operate under conditions of constant assault by capitalists and those who serve them and their state apparatus and mass communications media. The people's power that has developed in our country ensures suitable political prerequisites for the protection and representation of the working people's interests. This helps trade union work.

And if trade union activity is unsatisfactory in spite of all that, then the reasons for it must be sought in implementation practice and not in the political system.

With its own means, the trade union movement must serve--and it does so serve--every rational measure that promotes social progress. [paragraph continues]

However, the promotion of social interests cannot push into the background the corporate expression of justified professional and other group interests, the defense of individual or concrete daily interests and rights, because thus sooner or later the very social interest, the long-term interest and prevalence of the common cause would be endangered.

For the working person, the citizen, the moral value of workers' power becomes clouded if his interests are not dealt with humanely and in accordance with our principles. In the protection of interests account must be taken of social realities; but one must equally account for men, their needs and interests.

Considered in an everyday sense, trade union interest protection must be directed fundamentally at the individual, particularly in matters of wages, working conditions and labor safety. What this demands in practice is that matters affecting working people should not be decided from above, aside from and without them.

The trade unions promote attainment of the general social goal by resolving various conflicting interests in a manner conducive to progress. Trade union organs must have sufficient courage to compare the interests of various levels at forums and organized and open discussions with working people. They must express their views on what they regard as means to resolve differences and clashes of interests in a manner that makes allowances for objectives of the people's economy.

However, it cannot all be done without disputes. Social interest itself also does not prevail sufficiently if we cannot join it with group and popular interests, because there is no social interest that is entirely independent of individual and group interests. We must assure that individual and partial interests be voiced at democratic forums and be resolved in harmony with social interest. Consequently, a competent appraisal of interests and satisfaction through rational compromises are coming to the fore in trade union interest protection activity. Of course, such work is not nearly as spectacular as the capitalist countries' trade union activity.

That may give rise to the illusion that relations are idyllic between the trade unions operating in a socialist society and the socialist economic or state leadership, that there are not any disputes or conflicts between them: There are, indeed, but the method of resolving them is entirely different and much more beneficial for working people than that under capitalist conditions.

The practice and constant development of social specialization established among us is assurance that in general what and how much should be the share of this or that person depend on the good will of individuals.

A basic error is reflected in the practice of keeping silent over worries occupying public opinion and about which there is inadequate information because for some reason or another they are considered awkward. Social tensions exist even if we do not talk about them.

In order to resolve them, we must know what effect they have. We must deeply and extensively examine public opinion for its causes. About all this, according to our practice, we must speak openly with the workers and we must help toward solutions with the means at our disposal.

In our country we justly feel that we have done everything possible to render our lives better, even if there are still not enough homes, even if prices are now higher and some strata, as we well know, are low earners. We are convinced that today we can afford only this much, but we must work together so that tomorrow we may afford more. One cannot chase dreams; this has never been characteristic of the sober working man. Also society is dutybound to warn the individual--leader and subordinate alike--of its duties arising from the situation and tasks.

We only cease to expect miracles if everybody knows exactly what society can afford. Of course, all this requires suitable democracy and open political activity. In our view, in our country policies enjoy credit and are firmly supported because they lead to the attainment of everything possible under present circumstances.

Only a Strong People's Economy Is Capable of Retaining the Attained Standard of Living

Esteemed congress, an extensive and well-founded appraisal of the trade unions' work and its results and weaknesses has come about at the elections and industrial sector and branch congresses. One million working people have spoken, assessed our activity and set requirements that are even higher than heretofore.

In summing up all that, the trade unions have forwarded to the SZOT approximately 600 suggestions and over 800 observations. The suggestions include all fairly important issues that preoccupy the working people and extend to trade union activity as a whole

We have taken a considerable portion of the suggestions into consideration in elaborating the written report and the draft resolution. The rest of them will have to be incorporated in the daily work and long-term plans of the trade unions.

Fundamentally, the speeches and suggestions group around three to four subjects. Most frequently, they dwell on the economy, the prerequisites needed for even and tranquil work and aspects of the activeness and will to act of the working people. Many speeches and suggestions pertain to the prevalence of democracy, cultural opportunities and the inner life of trade unions.

From the nature of matters the development of living and working conditions and their daily and longer-term problems appeared with particular emphasis in the suggestions and speeches.

That extensive appraisal of our activity and evaluation of all our tasks enables us to deal, not with details of the issues noted in the suggestions, but with their fairly major implications here at the congress.

At the same time, the entire trade union movement must draw from them a few conclusions as well:

--Primarily the fact that it was again perceptible during the elections to what a great extent the working people's sense of responsibility and duty for the development of our destiny ourselves, and society permeates and affects our lives;

--it is an important conclusion that working people realize and understand that all our results to date could have been attained only on the basis of hard and consistent work. Largely, they also realize the fact that the success of our future work depends on the degree to which we can provide free scope for the will to act, not being content with mediocrity, being more able to recognize genuine human values and appreciating more people who want to act and do, indeed, act for the benefit of the community;

--people have not made unfounded demands, but, with the sense of responsibility characteristic of workmen, they have realistically formulated what they expect from themselves and from everyone. They have put to the fore that which promotes the cause of working people and society; and

--the suggestions prove that working people regard events, as do the trade unions, from the inside and actively, and not from the outside and in an idle manner.

The suggestions and speeches at the elections have shown that working people realize and perceive exactly that our own life is involved when we speak of the accomplishment of economic objectives.

The country's present economic position and the reasons for it are well known by working people. Also the decisions, plans and measures which are intended to ensure that our problems be resolved and our tasks be accomplished are well known to them.

The fact that we must pursue this path and implement the plans and decisions is not in doubt. It is the elemental interest of our people as a whole, each working person. Only a strong people's economy can be the firm foundation of further development of socialist construction work and only a strong people's economy can retain the standard of living thus far attained and guarantee development at a more rapid rate later.

Sober and responsible people understand that, thus, it is natural that working people discuss and urge creating prerequisites to work in an orderly and efficient manner and foster it with their proposals.

One cannot sufficiently emphasize the importance of this understanding, because it is a fundamental prerequisite for the realization of our economic policy and our objectives in general whether we succeed in rallying all forces in the interests of implementation and have the goals accepted and act for them.

An important prerequisite for bringing it about is for enterprise management everywhere to feel its increased responsibility. It should be both consistent and flexible at the same time.

Thus can emerge, at enterprises and places of work, a management able to take the initiative, adapt itself to demands and requirements and win over and mobilize the working people, which can do a great deal to accomplish tasks fully.

The Socialist Labor Movement

Esteemed congress, the socialist labor movement has played a great role in attaining the results to date. In it, the commitment of the working man to socialism is assuming a specific form.

Now as before we regard work competition, the socialist brigade movement, as an indispensable aid in accomplishing economic tasks and a factor shaping attitude, mentality and decently performed work on a mass scale.

In the near future, we will have to redefine means for further development. The aim is to ensure that workplace communities have a greater responsibility and say with regard to material and moral recognition for the individual's work and attitude.

At collectives, both results and shortcomings must be personalized. The individual's work, duty and attitude must not disappear and become impersonal behind the communities. Let it become clear everywhere and to everyone that a committed attitude can fully develop only in a system of appreciated work and specific objectives.

This links the life of the individual to the community, ideals, endeavors and policy; thus he can and does assume of his own will his most natural duties.

Such human values are valuable in themselves. Such an attitude and act has a strong effect on those who do not as yet think and act in this way. Many human values we appreciate developed at the time of the fear of destitution, hardship and unemployment.

At that time, the working people could not lose anything except their shackles. They do not have shackles today, but a large proportion of them have a decent apartment and a fair number of them have their own house, car and other property. And the working people, all citizens, can be certain today that, to a greater or lesser extent, their financial position improves with each passing year.

For this very reason, it is worth paying attention to those who care for nothing other than material things. Of course, that in itself is not a sin, but it is not enough for a sensible human life under our system.

In the course of socialist construction, our life also produces people who do not and cannot see the manifestation of their own aspirations in our objectives and life, because they do not have any aspirations. And there are also people who, although they believe our principles and accept the prospects of building a socialist society, have a narrow horizon on their laborious working days that goes no further than their pay envelopes.

These fellow workers must be assisted. They can be uplifted by a strong and cohesive community that feels responsible for individuals and their committed human attitude. This creates better prerequisites for community life and the development of the ability, will and competence of the individual, because the true value of work competition is that it advances society and each individual.

Our society is a society of work that appreciates people primarily according to their work and not on the basis of rank. The purpose of this is to ensure that not a single useful initiative should go under in the morass of lack of comprehension and indifference.

The Development of Social Democracy Leads to Self-Administration

Comrades, the will of the working people to act can only develop in its full profundity in close harmony with democracy, education and expertise. Many difficulties arise from the fact that we have not realized this everywhere to date. We will never advance if we, separately and apart from each other, aid the economy at one time, educate people at another time, or practice democracy sometime. It is necessary to break away from this attitude and practice.

In a socialist society, the criterion of values is the fulfillment of one's duty in work and the constant development of democracy and education. These, together, permeate the life of society and the individual. Only together can they develop into such valued human traits as a community mentality, the will to act and a constant aspiration to better and more things. Only thus and through this does socialist construction become the cause of millions of people.

The slogan of democracy is correct and significant also in itself. However, it misleads if it does not truly enable the masses to discuss on merit fundamental aspects of management and distribution at their own enterprises, and if discussions are confined to problems of less significance.

Mere participation does not yet mean advanced democracy in the work place. It can even be made to appear in statistics alone. Work-place democracy is more than that: a share in decisionmaking, execution and supervision, possession of the genuine jurisdiction of power.

Managers cannot resolve economic tasks on their own. That requires the approval, steadfastness and control also of the working people, the masses. There is no other way. We are profoundly convinced that real progress is not feasible without the development of suitable creative relations, consistent with our present principles, between leaders and those they are leading.

All that is not an illusion, but a realistic possibility. However, making it come true requires discontinuation of the fact that some leaders think that they, through some mystical ability, are better aware of the working people's interests than those who are directly concerned and want to determine them without those people.

It has become possible to take a further step in developing democracy at places of work.
[paragraph continues]

We are extending having a say in the appointment of economic leaders and the appraisal of their work from the director all the way down to foremen. We are convinced that this will considerably foster the accomplishment of tasks and a further improvement of relations between the working people and leaders.

I would like to again call attention to the fact that the consistent development and practice of socialist democracy will lead in time to self-administration. As Lenin has said: "...socialism is not merely a power serving the interests of the people, but primarily and above all a power exercised by the people"

Priorities Must Be Established on Both a National and Enterprise Scale

Esteemed National Assembly, we must see that as long as we cannot show considerable results in the productivity of economic activity, we have no chance for a quick development of the standard of living. This is a fact that must be accepted. For this reason our main aim today is preserving the attained standard of living.

Knowing our capabilities, however, we know very well that preserving the present standard of living and also improving living conditions require great effort and consistent work from all of us.

The trade unions are also stressing on this occasion that we can be proud of all that we have attained in improving living conditions and the living standard. At the same time we emphasize that the standard of living attained so far is not what we have as a target. We want to improve living conditions further; we want to improve further the standard of living.

The trade unions have participated in elaborating the Fifth 5-Year Plan. We regard the measures pertaining to the standard of living specified in the plan as realistic and fair. They are realistic, because they do not envisage more than what is possible. They are fair, because they allow the available material means where they are most needed.

We have set as a target in the plan:

- We will increase real incomes and consumption and maintain full employment;
- We want to raise and develop the sum of low pensions and child care allowances;
- We want further to expand the day nursery, kindergarten and general school system;
- We want to make it easier for young people to acquire an apartment and are seeking a solution to enable young white-collar working people to join in apartment-building schemes;
- We intend to help large families by raising family supplements; and
- We will implement significant measures to develop health measures, improve services and preserve and even improve the standard of the supply of commodities.

What do these intentions show?

- They show the humanitarian nature of our society;
- The fact that we intend to alleviate the most urgent problems of our life;
- They show that realization of these intentions strengthens the safety of existence;
- They drive back even further the chance of obtaining income that does not stem from work; and
- We are stressing, at the same time, that there will be an increase in the real wages of those whose performed work justifies it.

For all these reasons, the plans correspond with the working people's sense of justice. That is why the trade unions regard the objectives laid down in the Fifth 5-Year Plan as realistic and just. Such intentions and plans, the fact that a country undertakes to preserve its existing achievements and even further develop them in several respects, have value and prestige in the prevailing world economic situation.

We know that today there are still more justified claims than we can at present satisfy; we also know that there still are wages, income and social tensions which, as soon as conditions allow, we shall have to resolve.

But now, if we cannot all at once satisfy the just demands of all, we must naturally establish priorities nationwide as well as at the workplace level. We cannot improve the situation of all strata all at the same time, so a greater role must be given to individual assessments in the distribution of wages and incomes on the basis of accomplished work.

It is also necessary that we help those workers and families whose social condition must be improved. It is especially important that we should pay even greater attention to the democratic and public nature of every decision that affects the standard of living and distribution of places of work.

To be sure, a great deal can be done at workplaces to ensure that social distribution should take place truly in accordance with the sense of justice of society. The present situation enhances the enterprises' responsibility in enabling us to retain the standard of living, to ensure that real wages should not diminish and to maintain the level of the real value of social remunerations.

A Well-Thought-Out Price Policy Is Needed

Esteemed comrades, a regular increase of prices has become a part of practice by now. This has been and remains a special worry for us, the trade unions. There was a time that we held the view that prices must not be raised under socialist conditions. We realize today that such a position is untenable.

Life has its own realities. We, too, must see that prices cannot stay steady in our country owing to the increase in production costs. We know very well that this causes worries; for example, the worry that the rise of prices affects more seriously than average certain working strata, families and individuals.

What can be done? We cannot return to price stability. That must be acknowledged in the long term also and allowances made for it as a factor in the standard of living policy. Therefore, we are of the opinion that, together with the government, we must take painstaking care that price increases not cause difficulties in implementing our standard of living policy.

The state organs must consider many times over the justification and need for and effect of every price measure; that is, "let us consider it a hundred times before we make one decision." This imposes the obligation on state organs to carefully analyze the development of production costs and the justification for increasing them before deciding to increase prices, because they affect consumer prices.

At the same time, the state organs' price control activity must be made stricter still, and abuses, carelessness and lax work must be prevented.

Our movement is also concerned about the fact that we have not made preparations to counter the effects of price increases under socialist conditions. Under socialist conditions, there are no means other than wage increases to counter consumer price increases even today, which has been almost the only means of the workers movement for 100 years. We feel that we must not acquiesce in this. Other means must be found.

To this end, efforts should be made to enable us to outline even in the longer term how we intend to ensure better harmony among consumption, the acquisition of a dwelling, education and leisure activity; that is, in the distribution of material and intellectual assets, on the basis of accomplished work and social care.

To this end, it should be analyzed how expenditures burden the working people's income. It seems to the trade unions, for instance, that the burdens of maintaining dwellings are, in relation to incomes, high in our country. Outlining our standard of living policy more accurately and in more detail necessitates a careful analysis of expenditures. This would present the means for more harmonious development of components of the standard of living in relation to each other.

Better Methods of the Movement Should Be Sought

Esteemed congress, the internal life of the trade unions as a movement will have to be further improved in the coming years. A few matters have particular significance in achieving that.

We have for long felt the need to develop our internal work. The trade unions have been conducting their work under consolidated conditions for over 20 years. That, in itself, is a good thing.

However, the danger always exists under consolidated conditions that our working methods become formal and we attend to our tasks in a routine manner. There is also a danger that our activity is not directed or not directed only at the accomplishment of tasks, but at procedures and retaining habits.

That constitutes marking time, the fundamental characteristic of which is introversion. Protracted and not always substantive conferences and an abundance of reports are typical of those manifestations. Instead of statements centered on the essence, we listen to a mass of general information.

And this concerns not only the quantity but also the quality of trade union work.

It is a fundamental requirement for any revolutionary movement that it must change itself, adapt to increased requirements, if it wants to influence social development and achieve change.

Therefore, we are obliged to seek better working methods in order to have a greater influence and impact on realizing our objectives and principles, on socialist construction.

Within the framework of the social division of labor, the trade unions' tasks are clear. They must attend to those tasks which conform to their mission and competence. However, they must attend to them in a substantive manner: It is necessary to be resolutely selective. Fewer tasks should be set, but they must be carried out thoroughly and consistently.

The trade union movement has always had a great tradition of attaching significance to substantive action. Despite this fact, it sometimes occurs that we are not sufficiently consistent in our methods of leadership. We make decisions without first analyzing the situation and at other times we carry out analyses without making any decisions. This is not right.

We must always analyze the situation clearly and lucidly and then make decisions. If we restore in this respect the balance which has been overturned in some places, we can abolish a great deal of formality in our work and can save a great deal of energy.

The working people criticize us over a few of our decisions. For instance, they criticize our resolution concerning modification of the cadre personnel regulations. They are probably right in that we have not prepared the resolution circumspectly enough. This fact, too, shows that we are not infallible.

It happens that some of our resolutions do not precisely meet requirements and demands. It is not easy to admit this, but it is preferable to keeping quiet about it and persisting in our old erroneous attitude.

The Stewards Are Responsible Political Factors

Branch trade unions operate autonomously in the Hungarian trade union movement. They direct the basic organizations, where the main trade union activity is concentrated. Nevertheless, it does not seem quite clear that the SZOT is the directing organ in principle and not the operative leader of the trade union movement.

However, this must be realized, because from this follows the constantly increasing responsibility and duty of the branch trade unions. And another thing that follows from it is that the SZOT does not attend to matters of detail, but issues that concern the movement as a whole.

A greater degree of trade union work's socialization is needed. This calls for well-prepared ideas and an efficient and well-arranged information system, as well as, of course, a small, but highly qualified apparatus, less paperwork and an organizational democracy where officeholders realize that their work, opinion and experience are really needed.

It is of great significance regarding the socialization of our work that consistent with the resolutions passed at our previous congress the trade union stewards' sphere of tasks and jurisdiction and together with it their responsibility have considerably expanded and changed qualitatively in the period covered by the report.

The stewards, chief stewards and their deputies now provide the majority--approximately 70 percent--of our activists. The trade union movement can fulfill its mission only if its activity is interwoven through and through with a constant relationship developed and kept alive by them with the working people and the masses. The stewards are the principal activists of our movement. They are responsible political factors. They have rightly won and enjoy the respect and trust of their fellow workers.

Of all trade union office holders, they are the ones with the deepest and most thorough knowledge of workplace conditions, the local tasks and also their colleagues; after all, they live among them and work with them.

At the same time, however, they must have the most practical knowledge of the goals, endeavors and possibilities of the trade unions. By being elected they receive a mandate not only from the trade union branch members but also from the entire trade union movement to represent and protect the interests of the workers in a responsible manner and to do this in a way so that the interests of the larger community and society are not harmed.

It must be ensured that stewards and chief stewards are appropriately prepared for better fulfillment of their increasing role.

We must strengthen the disposition and ability in trade union activity to notice the problems preoccupying members in good time and to seek and together with members find a rapid and most appropriate solution for them.

Members do not ask and expect us to resolve all the problems that arise immediately. They are quite aware that it is not possible. However, they do want and expect us to take note of them and give them a sincere and open answer.

The leading organs of the trade union movement are responsible primarily to their own members. It is hardly the fault of the members if they do not feel that way. The fault must be sought in our work.

Members should be more aware of what the trade unions and activists do for them and on their behalf. On this basis they feel that the trade union is theirs and their own. They should always find understanding, support and protection and be given a straightforward answer and explanation to their questions and misgivings.

The changes taking place in state direction influence the improvement of our work. We must work out how the trade unions of industrial branches should cooperate with the Ministry of Industry, what organizational forms this should assume and what tasks would devolve on the SZOT.

The responsibility of not only the enterprises, but also trade union organs is constantly increasing in their participation in enterprise decisions and supervision of implementing the decisions. The trade union movement leadership must support the enterprise organizations in many ways. We will strive to find as soon as possible the useful organizational forms and methods that will enable us to aid industrial activity under the new circumstances.

Serving the Cause of the Working People Transcends National Frontiers

Esteemed congress, following their principles and best traditions, the Hungarian trade unions participate in the international trade union movement. They are in solidarity with all trade unions that serve the interests of working people and strive to promote that multilateral relations, on the basis of mutual respect and esteem and responsibility for common tasks, should continue to strengthen and become predominant in the international trade union movement. Accordingly, we pursue our international activity, essentially, in two directions. One is strengthening bilateral relations and the other the activity we conduct in the WFTU. We strive to acquaint people with and promote the realization of the WFTU's activity, objectives and positive endeavors. Recently--at the Moscow session of the Supreme Council on the latest occasion--we took specific measures to further improve WFTU activity and make it suitable for the requirements of the present era.

It is a natural endeavor of ours constantly to strengthen our cooperation with the trade unions of the socialist countries. We are linked by identical foundations of principles and an identical social structure. This is a tie that makes the closest friendly and fraternal cooperation possible. In many respects, the socialist countries' trade unions are striving to accomplish identical tasks. We are seeking means through which the trade unions can most effectively promote the prosperity and better life of the working people, while we are constantly strengthening the representation and protection of the working people's interests. There is a rich and extensive area where our relations could grow stronger. Familiarity with each other's views and experiences with regard to specific issues mutually enriches us and helps the work of both of us.

It helps that we pursue the path that we often have to find and test ourselves more boldly and self-assuredly.

It helps us fulfill our mission on an increasingly high standard under conditions of the workers' power.

The WFTU is one of the centers of the international trade union movement, but there are two other international trade union centers. The concurrent existence of the three trade union federations is a reality. The service of the cause of the working people transcends national frontiers and representing it cannot tolerate national barriers and national selfishness. If we want to act in the international trade union movement, faithful to its traditions and consistently, then we must emphasize more forcefully and convincingly than at the present that which unites us.

Every trade union must acknowledge that it serves the international trade union movement well when, despite differing points of view, it is aware of its responsibility and preserves and develops its own willingness to cooperate in the interests of the common cause in a manner acceptable to each partner. There are many issues exerting a fundamental influence on the life of workers throughout the world. The most important of these is the continuation of detente, the preservation and strengthening of peace, as well as other issues, questions which significantly influence the fate and lives of working people.

It cannot be doubted that acting in unison contributes to positive solutions. This realization has been strengthened in many trade unions. Numerous facts prove that the number of responsible leaders who look beyond the present and work for cooperation in the international trade union movement is increasing. This is resulting in a development and a strengthening of relations, and the fact that leaders of trade unions of various orientations are regularly meeting and exchanging views within the framework of the ILO.

We are strengthening and expanding our relations with the trade unions of the advanced capitalist countries. It is our endeavor to make, in addition to the socialist countries, trade unions, the entire international workers class see and be aware of what the Hungarian trade unions, possessing workers' power, are doing for the working people. There is also a practical benefit arising from the relations we have developed with the trade unions operating in the advanced capitalist countries: We obtain experiences about the way the advanced capitalist countries' trade unions resolve issues of importance to their members.

Aiding the trade unions of the developing countries is our internationalist duty. Our aim in this is not to export our principles and world outlook. We are guided by fostering, in accordance with our strength, possibilities for creating and developing trade union work in these countries. We know that material assistance is very important for trade unions operating in the developing countries. We are not a rich and large trade union movement, but we do aid them materially also. This is made possible for us by the fact that our 4.5 million members devote money specially for this purpose by contributing to a Solidarity fund.

We know that, in addition to material assistance, it is greatly significant for these trade unions to profoundly acquaint themselves with the life of the socialist countries and the activity of their trade unions. What they see here helps them develop concepts about their own work and the shaping of a more worthy, human life for their members.

In cooperation, the sentiment of solidarity is among the finest traditions of the international trade union movement. Numerous generations of workers and leaders have been raised on this. The sense of responsibility is the strongest binding force in the endeavor to accomplish solidarity and common tasks. It is a strong binding force because a pure cause can only be served with pure intentions and pure methods. It is a great fortune of the international trade union movement that the number of those who realize this is constantly increasing. Since their existence, the Soviet trade unions, the trade union movement of the first socialist country of the world, have never ceased to serve as an example for international solidarity and responsibility for common tasks. Selflessly and in an exemplary manner for everyone, they have at all times assumed the most sacrifices for the workers' cause.

These days, the regrettable events in Poland are being followed with great interest. We all know what has happened there. It is not our task to disclose and analyze the motives for the events. The Hungarian trade unions are in solidarity with socialist Poland and the Polish working people. We hope and trust that the party, government, trade unions and working people will be able to defend the achievements of socialism and find the path leading to a solution in Poland. [paragraph continues]

We also profoundly believe that, at the same time, they will draw the lessons from the erroneous methods that brought about this situation and will have the energy to eliminate the mistakes and continue the work of socialist construction, and that they will have the strength to combat any intention directed against the socialist system.

We Will Preserve and Further Increase Our Results

Dear comrades, we are closing a period which was significant in the life of our country and trade unions alike. Our results have continued to increase in the past 5 years. We have continued to advance. At the same time, this period was not parsimonious in problems, either. Still, in spite of them all, it pays for us to look around the country. We have enough to see and experience. We can see how our country has developed and how our people have become more prosperous. We have become richer and more mature. At the same time, as a result of the energy crisis, the international market and many other factors, difficulties have also arisen. They have demonstrated our own weaknesses but also our strength, the fact that our people have the knowledge, ability and will to enable us to overcome our problems.

Successes and difficulties combined to make the past 5 years real and beautiful. Our people have further advanced on the path of three and half decades of a better and finer life. We know that we have not as yet reached the peak. We also realize, however, that we are progressing in the right direction. Making up for a lag of generations, we have created a life rich in content in our country, where everyone can live, work and create in safety. Many peoples of the world would be glad to call this their own.

What we have achieved was done through our work. Work has always been a central issue for us, but the future will make it even more central than heretofore and a factor that determines our entire life. We respect work, from which all our past and "future victories" stem, as the "mother of life."

Our goal is unchanged: Building socialism! We are striving to create the kind of life for which the best representatives of the workers' movement and the Hungarian people have been struggling to this day. We have achieved considerable results--these must be and deserve to be reserved, protected and further enriched.

Esteemed congress, dear comrades, at the end of the report, I would like to stress once more that implementation of the 23d congress resolutions was successful. The position of the trade union movement is fundamentally good. Its strength, social appreciation and consequence are increasing. It is an increasingly active participant in the exercise of power and the development and implementation of policy. With our party's ideopolitical guidance, the Hungarian trade unions have become an autonomous part, fulfilling an important role, of the socialist society's political system.

These, together, are more than small results. These results reflect the competent and devoted work, permeated by a commitment to the cause of socialism, office holders and activists of the trade union movement. They reflect the trust and will to act--for which we express our gratitude also from this forum--of our over 4.5 million members. In my opinion, this trust and will to act constitute an "energy source" that increases if we manage it well.

Our marvelous vocation, our sense of responsibility for the power of the workers, are constantly motivating us to improve our work. This is what we must do in the present as well. The past 5 years of the movement were not free from mistakes. We must represent our cause with even greater humility, with even less self-importance and with even greater worker conscience, abandoning the belief in infallibility.

The service of the working class cannot tolerate formality and selfishness. We are proud of what we have achieved with the creative work of our people but we cannot close our eyes to our problems and worries either.

Our society is the society of work; it is more than just any previous society. We have brought about this social system. Our joint struggles and joint endeavors are embodied in everything we have achieved and of which we are proud. It is this that gives us the right to be dissatisfied about what we have not yet solved. Our congress is a worthy forum for realistically evaluating the work carried out during the past years and determining the tasks for further progress.

I request the esteemed congress to discuss, supplement and endorse in that spirit the written and verbal report of the National Trade Union Council and the resolution proposal.

I thank you for your attention!

KOMAROM TU SESSION CRITICIZES LEADERSHIP 'FAULTS'

LD162036 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] The Komarom County Council of Trade Unions has taken the stand that enterprises should not organize more than two or three communist shifts annually and that the wages of these should be spent on the construction of worker homes or on social investments.

At today's session of the body the objection was raised that the leaders frequently organize social work to make up for a fall in production and to compensate for losses arising from the faults of the leadership. It was pointed out that in the preparation of next year's plans, workers and trade union committees will have to be drawn in eventually and that at production consultations the completed programs will have to be set forth.

MAROTHY CHAIRS BUDAPEST PARTY COMMITTEE MEETING

LD171124 Budapest MTI in English 1020 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 16 Dec (MTI)--The Budapest Party Committee met in session on Tuesday in Budapest under the chairmanship of Laszlo Marothy, member of the HSWP Political Committee and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee. Endre Molnar, secretary of the party committee, delivered a report on actual foreign political questions. Then on the basis of the report read by Secretary Sandor Somogyi and the guidelines of the Dec. 2, 1980 session of the HSWP CC, the party committee approved its 1981 working program.

BRIEFS

MSZMP DELEGATION IN SFRY--At the invitation of the LCY Central Committee, a party worker delegation led by Laszlo Fodor, deputy head of an MSZMP Central Committee department, visited Yugoslavia from 2-9 December. The delegation, which studied the Yugoslav sister party's information and propaganda work, was received by Trpe Jakovlevski, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [Text] [Budapest NESPZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Dec 80 p 4 AU]

GDANSK, GDYNIA CEREMONIES MARK DECEMBER 1970 EVENTS

Gdansk Monument Unveiling

LD162220 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Dec (PAP)--The central commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the December 1970 events, when 45 workers were killed and 1,165 were wounded, began in Gdansk at 5 p.m. today. The memorable tragedy took place in front of the Gate No. 2 at the Gdansk shipyard ten years ago. Fellow workers of those shot dead in 1970 resolved to erect a monument--a symbol of remembrance, admonition and the hope that the December tragedy should never repeat.

The monument is there, after ten years, built over an unusually short time with the hands, minds and will of the shipyard workers, artists, foundrymen and construction workers. Three slender crosses with anchors nailed to their arms rise up to the skies.

Masses of people gathered in the square around the monument and in adjacent streets. Before 5 p.m. official guests arrived. They are representatives of the highest party and state authorities led by members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, alternate member of the CC Political Bureau, Secretary of the PUWP of the Gdansk Voivodship Committee Tadeusz Fiszbach, CC Secretary Zdzislaw Kurowski, Vice-Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, representatives of the Catholic Church authorities led by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski and Secretary of the Episcopate Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, members of the Solidarnosc leadership led by Chairman of the National Coordinating Commission Lech Walesa.

The president of the Council of State accepted a report made to him by a commander of the guard of honour of the coastal defence forces.

At 5 p.m. the shipyard and the ships blew their sirens and the Gdansk churches rang their bells marking the beginning of the commemoration.

Having sung the Rota, the Polish patriotic song dating back to 1910, the assembly heard "Lacrimosa," the work composed by Krzysztof Penderecki specially to commemorate the victims of December 1970. Later, the roll-call of the dead was read.

There was a minute of silence which was followed by the words of the psalm "The Lord will give strength to his people, the Lord will give his people the blessing of peace." The same words are inscribed on the wall making a part of the monument.

Then, the families of the killed workers approached the monument.

The monument, three 42-metre high crosses, was unveiled by the symbolic cutting of the ribbon. The crosses are standing in front of the shipyard's wall where the plaque with an inscription: "They gave their lives for you to live in dignity" was placed. Next to the plaque are the words (?declared) by John Paul II: "May your spirit descend and change the face of the land, (?this land)."

Lech Walesa lit an ever-burning flame at the foot of the crosses and made a short speech.

Then, the floor was taken by Tadeusz Fiszbach.

Next a solemn mass in the intention of prosperity for Poland was said by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, archbishop and Krakow's metropolitan.

At the mass, Secretary of the Episcopate Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski read a message sent in by Pope John Paul II on the occasion of the commemoration and a letter by Poland's Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.

A homily was delivered by ordinary of the Gdansk Diocese Bishop Lech Kaczmarek.

Next, in homage to the killed workers wreaths were laid by their families, representatives of the authorities and the Solidarnosc trade unions, to the strains of (?funeral music) by the orchestra of the Polish Navy.

During the religious ceremony the monument to the shipyard workers and the banner of the NSZZ Solidarnosc were consecrated. The mass ended with the many-thousand-strong participants singing the Polish national anthem.

The participants in the commemoration left the square in front of the shipyard in a solemn mood.

Walesa Gdansk Ceremony Address

LD162014 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1836 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Lech Walesa speech at 16 December Gdansk unveiling ceremony at monument to victims of violence in December 1970--recorded]

[Text] I am speaking from notes because I am very closely connected with this monument, as you well know. Otherwise, I would be unable to speak--as I have always done so far--from memory. Please forgive me.

This day should be a day of silence and reflection. The monument raises a question and gives an answer. Many thoughts have been expressed at this monument and these will be remembered.

The greatest of Poles, Pope John Paul II, wishes to convey his special expressions of solidarity in connection with the situation which our fatherland is living through at this moment. He wishes peace to men of good will, which we deserve.

With this monument there will be linked the words and the wishes of another great Pole who has been awarded the Nobel prize--Czeslaw Milosz. He sent us words, which translated say: The Lord will give strength to his people; the Lord will give to his people the blessings of peace.

Let us remember the words which are contained in the foundation act of this monument, which read: This monument has been erected to those who have died as a mark of eternal memory; to those who rule as a warning sign that no social conflict in the fatherland must be solved by force; and to fellow citizens as a sign of hope that evil can be overcome.

The erection of the monument was the duty of those who have remained here, for those who will come. It is to bear witness to the past and to be a road sign for the future.

The monument emphasises the right to the recognition of the dignity of man, the right to order, calm and justice. We must also carry into the future the sense of sacrifice of those to whom we are paying homage today. [shouts in the background: "Glory to them!"]

As you remember, 1 year ago I said on this very spot that on the 10th anniversary a monument would be erected here. If no other way would be possible, we would bring together here all the stones, in a crowd as we are here today, and we would build it. On this very spot I also sent out three other watchwords which have been completely implemented, so that we have this present reality and not another one. I thank you. [applause]

I am giving thanks today for those hands which have operated the cranes, welding lamps and all the technology making it possible to build this magnificent monument in such a short time.

I thank all those hearts, minds and talents which built this monument. Above all, I express my joy that with this monument is connected the solidarity of thoughts and feelings of our entire fatherland.

Let me quote the words of the Episcopate of Poland, which are an expression of great concern for the future of our fatherland: One must not undertake any action which could expose our fatherland to danger, threaten liberty and statehood. The efforts of all Poles must be aimed at strengthening the process of renewal that has started and at creating conditions for implementing social agreement between the ruling power and society. I am quoting further: We must live with hope that [words indistinct] and consciously undertake them in the name of a better tomorrow in a free fatherland. A determined will is needed to oppose any attempts whatsoever at stopping the process of national renewal, at fomenting quarrels in society and at utilizing existing difficulties for aims alien to the good of the nation and the state. Our country needs, above all, internal peace in order to consolidate the social life in an atmosphere of a renaissance of mutual trust.

This is why I take this opportunity to appeal to you present here and to all Poles and people of good will, in the name of patriotism, our nationality and peace, to be fully responsible for the fates of our fatherland. I appeal to you to maintain calm, law and order, and to respect all rights and self-respect. [applause]

I appeal to you to be sensible and cautious in everything you do for the well-being of our fatherland. I urge you to be vigilant in the defense of our fatherland's security and in maintaining the sovereignty of our fatherland. [applause]

I urge you not to forget that only our native fatherland bears the name of Poland. [applause]

I urge you to make Poland more and more a home for people and I urge you to ensure that justice, freedom, calm, love and solidarity triumph here. [applause]

Fiszbach Speaks at Ceremony

LD162054 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1843 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Speech by Tadeusz Fiszbach, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Gdansk Voivodship party committee, at 16 December Gdansk unveiling ceremony of monument to victims of violence in December 1970--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed, eminent guests! Dear people of Gdansk! We came here today to perform a very special duty. We are paying homage to the memory of victims of the tragic events of December 1970. We knew that while thinking of the dead and in the name of the hopes of the living we had to erect a symbol which expresses our feelings, and the fraternal bonds and unity of purpose which guide us in creating values which define the image of our motherland, the Polish People's Republic.

On the initiative of shipyard workers and because of the constantly living memory of the events of 10 years ago, we have erected this monument. It brings together now and for the future the memory of those who fell. It brings to mind the experiences of the working class, the shipyard workshop which is within range of our sight.

The memories of those December events, while painful, should not, must not divide: They should unite the nation, the working class and the authorities in common effort to ensure that such tragedies never occur again.

This is why less than 4 months ago we drew correct conclusions from the working class protest and chose the only right way of solving the August conflict. It is a road of agreement, a difficult road full of stress and effort. But it is a road which creates an opportunity for avoiding tragic consequences.

We desire that once and forever full cohesion will be guaranteed between the lofty ideals for the socialist development of the country and the ways for the authorities to fulfill the duties they are burdened with in compliance with the desires of citizens.

That is why we are removing from our life everything that is contrary to the principles of socialism, to the sense of justice and morality of our nation.

At the same time, we must oppose anything that threatens the peace of our homes and anything that may threaten the interests of the nation and the state.

Once again, truth, characteristic of our social system, has come to the fore with all its strength. The unity of goals has deepened and consolidated all the more when the links between the authorities and the nation, between the party members and nonparty people, between believers and nonbelievers, between all people to whom the welfare of the fatherland constitutes the highest value, are strengthened.

It is only on these grounds that the patriotic forces of the nation can best express themselves and their aims bring results that will enrich the state and serve the prosperity of its citizens.

Today we must realize with full clarity the importance of this truth for overcoming the obstacles which have arisen before us.

Therefore when we say that Poland needs not only better material living conditions for her people but also internal peace, mutual trust and the strengthening of the social-moral principles, we are thereby expressing the sense of the process of renewal, which is in progress.

The need [for the process] grows from the intentions of the working class, of all working people. The program for socialist renewal has been outlined by our party and the party--the PZPR--will implement it consistently. We need actions by everyone and everywhere in favor of the existing stabilization; here on the coast and throughout the country.

This is also demanded by internal interests, as well as by the international position of Poland, linked by her alliances and contacts with the world.

So we must give evidence of our political wisdom and of our firm will to solve the problems facing us in a constructive manner. Poland is, using the words of a poet, a great common duty. She is a common home for all citizens. We (?guarded) this home of the Poles when we were in bondage and during the occupation. We have gained this opportunity thanks to the heroism of our nation, thanks to the liberating struggle of the Polish Army and the Soviet Army, thanks to the sacrifices and work of everyone. A lot of worries and shortcomings still exist in our native home but it is our home and it is here that we are and will remain. It is here that our life goes on. It is here that our thoughts take shape. It is here that our work goes on. Therefore, we have the patriotic duty to profoundly understand everything that occurs in our fatherland and not to flag in our efforts to ensure that things are the best we can make them and to ensure that never again do any dramatic events, which in the past have brought us so much pain and bitterness, disturb its calm. Let us fulfill this duty earnestly.

Despite the many unsolved problems and unsatisfied needs that still exist, we have to do this with mutual understanding and trust, thereby multiplying everything that links rather than separates us, everything that brings us closer together and does not make us drift away from one another, and that creates the essence of repairing the people's republic. Awareness of this takes on profound meaning today, on this day full of reflection, in the presence of the families of those who perished and thousands of people of Gdansk and of numerous delegations from the whole country, and in the presence of the representatives of the supreme authorities of the state and with the participation of the worthy representatives of the church.

The union which is so much in evidence and symbolic at today's ceremony, a unification which has such dramatic origins but which also has such favorable prospects, is very auspicious for People's Poland. Let us bow our heads before this monument. Let us unite in the work by which our fatherland will be built, developed and enriched.
[applause]

Gdynia, Szczecin Ceremonies

LD170536 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] A ceremony for unveiling a memorial plaque to the victims of December 1970 is in progress now in Gdynia, close to the Komuna Paryska shipyard, to mark the 10th anniversary of the tragic December events on the coast.

This afternoon a cornerstone for a monument to the victims of December 1970 will be laid in the city center.

Solemn commemoration ceremonies also are being held in Szczecin today. They will culminate in the unveiling of a plaque-monument at the main gate of the Adolf Warski shipyard.

Jagielski, Walesa in Gdynia

LD170811 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Summary] A ceremony to unveil the monument to shipyard workers in Gdynia began at 0430 in Gdynia.

"The following have arrived to take part in the ceremony: Mieczyslaw Jagielski, members of the party Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier; Tadeusz Fiszbach, Central Committee Politburo alternate member and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship party committee; and Jerzy Wojtecki, secretary of the party Central Committee. Also present are representatives of the administration of the voivodship and representatives of the Church, including suffragan of the Chelm Diocese, Father Bishop Zygfryd Kowalski and other Gdynia parish priests and clergy. On behalf of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Coordinating Commission is present. Also present are families of the fallen, inhabitants of the vicinity and visitors from throughout Poland."

Pope Sends Telegrams

LD161920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] We are now connected with the Italian capital by telephone:

Rome, Pawel Wasielewski: In connection with the ceremonies in Gdansk and Szczecin marking of the tragic events of 10 years ago, Pope John Paul II today has sent telegrams marking these events to the bishop of Gdansk, Lech Kaczmarek, and to the bishop of Szczecin-Kamien, Kazimierz Majdanski. In response to the special request of the bishop of Gdansk and the inhabitants of the coastal area, we read the telegram to Bishop Kaczmarek: Dear brothers and sisters, today I join you at the monument which reminds us of the tragic events of 10 years ago and which commands us to think of all those who were killed at that time. I commend them to the compassion of the Everlasting Father. Thanking God that this year's events in the coastal area proceeded in a completely different way, I beg Him--we read on in the telegram from John Paul II--to give my compatriots every sustenance needed to build calm and by observing mutual respect for one another (?build) the common good of the beloved fatherland.

Incessantly praying for Poland and all her affairs--the papal telegram continues,--I bless from the bottom of my heart those taking part in the ceremony and all my compatriots.

The telegram to the bishop of Szczecin-Kamien is similar in content. This has been Pawel Wasielewski from Rome.

Catholic Commentary on Events

LD161104 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Commentary by Catholic writer and historian Jan Dobraczynski]

[Excerpts] Ten years ago, outside the Gdansk shipyard, people were killed, workers, Poles. The three crosses with inscriptions, which will be unveiled tomorrow outside the Gdansk shipyard, and the tablets in Gdynia and Szczecin honor the memory of those who fell, not in a struggle against an enemy, but in a despairing protest against the evil which breeds in the very heart of man.

It is too easy to look for an enemy outside oneself. It is too easy to give in to the promptings that the evil lies with others. Evil arises also in ourselves; this is the worst evil, hidden evil, the most dangerous because it is imperceptible.

Man is a magnificent being, but how fragile, like a reed. Our flame burns in a lamp of clay. Man has reached out into the cosmos but he has yielded to the temptation, the old temptation: You will be as gods.

Yesterday, at the appeal of the Polish Episcopate, we prayed for the unification of the nation, for the unification which will strengthen and create a moral renewal, because that moral renewal cannot be the work of just some people, it has to be the work of all. It must embrace the whole nation. John Paul II rightly wrote in his (?last) encyclical: The unbeliever too can find in him--that is, in Christ--the full eloquence of solidarity with human fate and also the perfect fulfillment of a disinterested sacrifice for the cause of man, for truth and love.

All those who tomorrow will be thinking over what happened 10 years ago understand, should understand, that that (?blood) taught us the truth, that the struggle for man's moral stand, the moral stand in every man, in us ourselves, may turn out to be the most important factor which saves us from danger.

This discovery is so valuable that, in face of its significance, the memory of bloodshed should not and must not awaken former rancor and resentment. It must become, as the Episcopate's communique said, the closing of a period of painful experiences. Thanks to what happened, we have understood ourselves better. Having understood ourselves, we have understood others; only on this understanding can a national community be born--that sense of community which is so important. It is now high time that this sense was awakened, that there is born a new trust among Poles. It is high time for wicked insinuations to cease, time for us to be united in a common cause.

There is no greater cause in the world which can link and bind life to itself more strongly. This is why this monument which will be unveiled in Gdansk tomorrow and the plaques which will be unveiled in Gdynia and Szczecin the day after tomorrow, should be the symbols which repeat the old battle call of the people of Rodlo [historical name for Polish lands from Carpathians to the Baltic], the call which unified and maintained the national strength of Poles, and which said: A Pole is a brother to all Poles.

SENATE RESOLUTION ON POLAND TERMED 'AGGRAVATION'

LD161110 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 16 Dec 80

[PAP commentator]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Dec (PAP)--The attempts to aggravate the atmosphere round the developments in Poland appear at surprisingly regular intervals. After the recent final communique from the NATO Brussels session, the U.S. Senate has recently passed a resolution in the familiar spirit of "a threat to Poland."

Although the resolution is not an act of law, it is enough to size up the ends to which the activity of some political circles is directed. The Soviet news agency TASS has sharply criticized the "anti-Soviet and antisocialist hysteria", describing the resolution as another provocation and an attempt to interfere in other countries' affairs.

It is least to say strange that the attempts to dramatize the events in Poland and their potential influence on the international situation are undertaken at present, after the trends and character of the general renewal of political, social and economic life in Poland have been clearly defined. After a difficult period of tension and conflict, the Poles have now proceeded to consolidate their ranks in the struggle to overcome the difficulties.

This is not an easy process for there are many arrears and shortcomings but the attitude of the nation and the decisions taken by the party and state authorities have opened up before the Polish nation a chance to come out of the impasse. We know that there are people in Poland who are not really convinced by that process but the endeavours of the majority of Poles are clear-cut. The nation has welcomed with satisfaction all foreign expressions of moral support and confidence in its ability to cope with the crisis. But they are against the attempts to dramatize the development of events, to aggravate the atmosphere round the Polish issue and drive a wedge between this country and its allies.

KURON CONFIDENT USSR WILL NOT INTERVENE

LD170901 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 8 Dec 80 p 7

[Frits Schaling interview with Jacek Kuron: "I Am Convinced That Russia Will Not Intervene"]

[Text] When everyone in Poland and in a large part of the world had to hold their breath last week, Jacek Kuron at least was not doing so. When a Polish friend of Kuron's telephoned from Paris yesterday evening and said that according to American sources there was an 80 percent chance that the Russians would attack on Sunday night, he did not seem deeply impressed. "We shall see," he said. "If this turns out not to be true, as I think, for I do not believe in it, then this once again is nothing but empty words."

About the communique of the seven Warsaw Pact countries published in Moscow last Friday [5 December] after the summit meeting on the situation in Poland, Kuron said that it is a declaration in which the Warsaw Pact wants to reassure the West about its intentions. This means no intervention. He finds the dangerous element in the declaration in that the Polish authorities made definite promises which they perhaps will not be able to fulfill.

"If they have been bound to promise that Poland will remain in the sphere of Russian influence, that is all right. There we are in agreement. But if they have committed themselves to retracting what was agreed in August, then this is dangerous. In practice this would mean Solidarity breaking off its contacts with what the authorities call 'antisocialist forces.' That means breaking off contacts with the people who have been championing democratic changes in the country for a long time now and who play a very important role in Solidarity and are accepted by society. Neither Solidarity nor society will accept the breaking of ties. If the authorities have made such a commitment, they will never be able to keep it."

Kuron sees the Moscow meeting as proof of his conviction that the Polish drama cannot have anything but a "happy ending." "The Soviet Union knows that a war would break out here if it invaded. Moscow does not want that and Poland does not want it either. They therefore have a common interest.

"But we must not overstep the limit. The leading role of the party means that the party has a monopoly situation in the army, police, the orientation of foreign policy and in central government. [paragraph continues]

"What it boils down to is that the authorities are the equal partners of independent organized society [de onafhankelidke georganiseerde maatschappij]. As authorities they should therefore be able to implement the compromises reached through the negotiations. But I am convinced that the Soviet Union will not intervene militarily in Polish events."

There is total indifference to be found in the representatives of Solidarity, and in Kuron in particular, to what is happening within the party. The seventh party plenum last week and the election of General Moczar to the Politburo leave then all cold since they say it has no influence on the situation in Poland.

Kuron: "I am totally uninterested in what is happening in the party. Changes in Poland do not emerge from party policy but from what society forces from the authorities.

"I have always said that the events of this year have proved me right. No matter who heads the party, he must be able to take account of the forces in organized society. In its turn organized society must take account of the fact that the authorities are watched by Soviet tanks. For this reason organized society can never overthrow the authorities. It can never overstep the limits within which the authorities feel constrained because a great counteroffensive would follow.

"The authorities must now find a position of equality with organized society, a balance based on negotiations and compromises. The problem at the present moment is finding an institutionalized form for negotiations and compromises. We are busy with this at the moment."

[Question] What do you think about the attitude of the West and the way the Western media are dealing with the crisis in Poland?

[Answer] I am worried about the West's attitude. What the Western press is writing boils down to the story that we are threatened with intervention and that this is a result of our irresponsibility and incaution. That is disgraceful and insulting because the workers of Poland are only doing what they have to do, they simply cannot do anything else, and they are doing it in a very careful way despite all the provocations and irresponsible actions by the authorities.

What is happening in the Western press is simply inviting the Russians to intervene. Intervention is presented as something unavoidable, as a natural law. The feeling that is evoked by the Western media is that it is our fault. That is insulting.

[Question] What do you think about other forms of intervention with which the Soviet Union could manage events in Poland, blockading ports, for example, or stopping gas and oil supplies?

[Answer] That would lead to a situation in which Poland would be forced into open resistance and then the Russians would have to intervene. That is exactly what they are trying to avoid.

SOLIDARITY AIDES CLAIM CALM, DENY ANARCHY CHARGE

LD161325 Brussels LE SOIR in French 13 Dec 80 p 1, 3

[Pol Mathil interview with Solidarity delegation members Jozef Przybylski and Zygmunt Zawalski in Brussels: "Two Solidarity Delegates Tell LE SOIR: 'We Will Come Through...' "-- date not given]

[Text] "The hypothesis of a Soviet invasion of Poland is illogical. It has no real justification. We have just spoken with our families in Gdansk. Everything is calm in our country. We are continuing to set our house in order. That should not upset anybody.... It is all in keeping with the law and the Constitution."

Jozef Przybylski and Zygmunt Zawalski, both 38 years old, who comprise the first delegation from the Polish Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity to be able to visit the West officially ("We have not yet been invited to visit the East," they explain), agree that the situation in Poland is delicate and difficult but...normal.

Mr Przybylski, a locksmith by trade, is a member of Solidarity's regional Presidium and was one of the signatories of the Gdansk agreements. Mr Zawalski, a technician, is a member of Solidarity's Presidium at the Gdansk Lenin shipyards. They are in Brussels at the invitation of the World Labor Confederation [CMT] (a Christian organization) and have just returned from a visit to Caracas where they represented Solidarity at the Latin American regional congress of the CMT.

The calm remarks made by the two Solidarity members sound strange at a time when NATO foreign ministers are completing their examination of the consequences of a possible Red Army intervention and when AWACS aircraft are circling Europe to watch for troop movements.

"We do not know what the AWACS are," the Solidarity representatives admitted. "However, although the tone taken by the Western press may seem rather extreme, it is a good thing that Poland has emerged from anonymity and that it is increasingly well known and popular in the whole world. We were received by the president of Peru. Who in Peru knew anything about Poland before?"

"As for us, we are working normally and we see no reason why the Soviets should take such a major and pointless risk. We are trade unionists and not politicians, but it is obvious that nobody in our country, nobody in Poland is threatening the USSR.

"In our view the essential thing is not what is said about Poland in other countries, which often reflects interests which have little to do with Poland's interests, but what is really happening in the country. We reject any accusation from any quarter that we are a source of chaos or anarchy. It is not Solidarity which caused the chaos. Quite the reverse. It is Solidarity which is offering the main chance of overcoming it. It is not the strikes that took place this summer which are the sources of the crisis. Quite the reverse. These strikes and the Solidarity [union] which emerged from them, make it possible to create a framework in which this crisis can be solved. The accusation of anarchy borders on the absurd. The country is calm; There are no serious strikes. We have just learned that the Lenin shipyards, despite the strikes in August, have fulfilled the plan for this year. The last two ships have just returned from sea trials. They will go to the Soviet Union, as planned...."

"Nothing But the 21 Points"

[Question] Everybody agrees that it is vital to avoid increasing tension in Poland. Moreover the authorities have made several significant gestures. In this case why is Solidarity demanding the release of political prisoners and why has it announced the formation of a "Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Opinion"? Is this not reviving tension in an extremely delicate sphere?

"No. Quite the reverse," our interlocutors replied. "It is a sign that things are normal. It is not up to us to judge the opinions of political prisoners--of which, moreover, we are still awaiting an official definition from the authorities. However, we believe that people must not be arrested in Poland today for crimes of opinion. We are realistic. We want to avoid extremes and we agree that at present we must not demand more than the implementation of the 21 points agreed in Gdansk--but all of those points. We believe that they will determine the success of the reform process to which the government is also committed."

According to our interlocutors, respect by all those concerned for the social contract signed in Gdansk is necessary if the Poles are to be asked to make the real national effort which alone can solve the crisis. [paragraph continues]

In addition to a series of meetings with Belgian trade unionists in Brussels the Solidarity delegates have, notably, made a private visit to EEC commission member Claude Cheysson.

Unexpectedly there was another visit the same day in the same building by an official Polish delegation which had come to negotiate the details of aid granted to Poland by the Community: "Western aid is an embarrassing but important aspect of the solution to the crisis in our country where people are not starving but where life is very hard. However, a country cannot live on credit."

"The Polish crisis," the Gdansk representatives told us, "is, of course, economic, but it is above all a moral crisis. We are grateful to all those in the West and the East who are helping our country to come through this difficult phase. However, what we need above all is to succeed in creating a climate of confidence in Poland between the government and the population. Solidarity is prepared to participate in that task..."

"8 Million"

[Question] A Western diplomat who recently had the opportunity of talking with the Polish authorities believes that Soviet distrust of Poland relates less to ideological heresy than to strategic insecurity. In other words the USSR could tolerate some Polish "peculiarities" if it were convinced of the security of its lines of communication and of Poland's respect for the obligations stemming from its Warsaw Pact membership.

[Answer] So what is the problem? That is precisely what Solidarity recognized when it signed the Gdansk agreements. [answer ends]

Everybody, the population, the government, the Church, the intellectuals ("the term dissident no longer means anything") and the trade unions know the limits of the match which is being played but also, our interlocutors stressed, its possibilities.

"We will come through!" they said.

[Question] Are you not afraid to return to Poland?

[Answer] Afraid? There are 8 million people in Solidarity. It has even more members in the figurative sense....

AGRICULTURE MINISTRY, TU SIDES HOLD WARSAW TALKS

LD171010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] Representatives of 14 industrial trade unions and associations active in agriculture have met leading officials of the Ministry of Agriculture in Warsaw. Discussed were matters connected with assistance to rural areas and the development of rural self-government. Jozef Koziol, chairman of the Central Board of Agricultural Circles expressed the conviction that the industrial trade unions and associations active in agriculture should have full independence, but with simultaneous integration with agricultural circles.

SOLIDARITY BAKERS APPEAL FOR ECONOMICAL BREAD USE

LD170004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] The Coordinating Commission of Bakers of the Solidarity Trade Unions, which held its deliberations at the second congress of delegates in Wroclaw, has appealed for saving bread.

The appeal stresses, among other things, that sudden purchases of bread for fodder occurred recently. It was also stressed that there had been shortcomings in investments in the bakery industry for many years which has caused a shortage of supplies of fresh bread to shops.

The appeal finally states that in the present economic situation of the country the economical use of each slice of bread is a common duty of society as a whole.

BANK EMPLOYEES TRADE UNION MEETS IN WARSAW

LD171030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] The first congress of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Bank Employees was held in Warsaw yesterday. A resolution adopted at the congress states that the banks have a particularly important task to perform at present in the smooth running of the economy, increasing its efficiency and implementing the precepts of economic reform. (Marek Cygalin) was elected chairman of the national council of the union. He is a National Bank of Poland official.

CZESTOCHOWA VOIVODSHIP, SOLIDARITY VOW COOPERATION

LD171016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] A meeting has been held in Czesochowa between the chairman and members of the local voivodship peoples council and representatives of the regional committee of Solidarity. At the meeting it was stated that the new administrative leadership of Czesochowa Voivodship, aided by Solidarity, will do everything to enable the process of socialist renewal to achieve positive results.

CUSTOMS WORKERS' TRADE UNION REGISTERED IN WARSAW

LD020350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] The Warsaw Voivodship Court registered the latest trade union yesterday. The Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Customs Workers, which has its offices in Warsaw, has achieved legal status.

INTERPRESS COMMENTS ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

LD161450 Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Dec (PAP)--The 177th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate which debated in Warsaw on December 10-11 examined the country's complicated social, economic and political situation in the light of the task of the Church. The Polish bishops defined their stand on the current developments which concern in an equal degree all the Poles: Catholics, representatives of other religious denominations and nonbelievers, INTERPRESS agency commentator writes.

The Episcopate's communique issued after the conference stresses that "actions must not be taken which could endanger our motherland's independence and statehood."

It is in fact a patriotic appeal to all Poles for reason and sober reflection. It also is an instance of the Polish Episcopate's denouncement of people who are trying to use the authority of the Church for their own political ends. The Polish bishops came out in favour of "closing the period of painful experience" on the day of unveiling the monuments in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin, INTERPRESS emphasizes.

Observers of developments in Poland agree that the correct relations that have been developing between the state and the church over the last decade find reflection lately in convergent views on numerous issues, in cooperation, especially as far as problems of the family and the living conditions of the society are concerned, INTERPRESS points out.

The process of renewal is complicated and toilsome. But it is high time that discussion should replace disputes, that the just demands be sought along the road of law instead of impulsive demonstrations. The Polish Episcopate is in that respect concordant with the government: All civic initiatives are needed which lead to the nation and the motherland and whose objective is our existence and our development, INTERPRESS concludes.

COMMENTATOR VIEWS ECONOMIC REFORM COMMISSION'S WORK

LD141608 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Tomasz Walat "Commentary of the Week"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Dec (PAP)--Economic reform has recently been the most prominent topic in Poland. The commission dealing with the issues of economic reform, set up by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the government, has now been working for more than 2 months.

Public reaction to the commission's work is divided. Some people associate the reform with enormous expectations which are frequently excessive, regarding it as an effective remedy with which to treat the ailments throttling our economy. Others, whose memories of the fiasco of previous reformist initiatives are still fresh, look upon the commission's work with far-reaching suspicion. The fact that quite a sizeable group of people who in the past had chances to improve the system of managing our economy but for various reasons had failed to make use of them has found itself within the commission's team makes these suspicions even worse. Even the press criticized people such as Albrecht, Jedrychowski or Pajestka. The commission's excessive size--such is the opinion of the critics--also gives rise to reservations. It has 77 members. If one includes the teams dealing with various problems, the commission's size goes up to some 400 members. It is therefore thought that in conditions such as these there must be far too much talking going on within the commission, delaying the drawing up of the expected solutions.

As usual, the truth is to be found somewhere in the middle as far as these two views are concerned. What indeed is this reform about? The cardinal problem which it must solve is the change in the system of relations between the central authorities on the one hand and enterprises, their workforces and local administration on the other. What is at stake here is, in equal measure, the need to strengthen central planning in the shaping of development strategy and to increase fundamentally the independence of enterprises and local administration. Above all there is a desire to develop genuine territorial and cooperative workers' self-governments and other forms making it possible for the working people to participate in running the economy.

The gamut of goals which the reform sets itself is extensive, beginning with restoring the manageability of the economy and its planned character right up to creating almost evangelical-like models of human behavior connected with sensitivity to illegal actions and the feeling of justice or sympathy for one's co-workers. It may well be that these great expectations, said to be excessive, emerge from this.

After all, not even the best planning and management system will be capable of protecting us from the results of incorrect political decisions such as we witnessed in the seventies, like overblown investments or making our industrial development conditional on unsuitable license-based technological processes.

The provisions of the reform, soon to be made public for examination by the population, will define the enterprise's position and organization in such a way as to protect it against impermissible interference on the part of state organs. There is talk of the necessity of reconstructing workers' self-government bodies so that they may become the genuine masters of the enterprises. There will also be considerable changes to make the central level less elaborate and complex and, above all, less bureaucratic. There are plans to make organizational structures significantly less elaborate and complex. They would then curtail the scope and size of the central administration, getting rid of redundant intermediate links as far as management is concerned. The importance of representative organs of the Sejm and people's councils and their control over administration will be enhanced.

As far as the planning system is concerned, it will rest mainly on 5-year plans which will define the investments structure and the basis on which to organize the activities of enterprises and economic organizations.

Finally, the reform will also define principles of the economic and financial system and economic management framework so as to create conditions facilitating the greater efficiency of enterprises. The significance of making all economic decisions depend on cost-accounting and strengthening the principle of various aspects of the activities by enterprises being self-financing are emphasized.

Prices are to be regulated. An incentives system is to be created. Principles governing enterprise funds and tallying them with the state budget are to be defined. It is envisaged that directives and limits which hamper our economy now like a tight corset will be done away with. The only yardstick to assess the activities of enterprises is going to be their contribution to the creation of new assets. Thus, at long last, the value of contractor-produced elements reaching the enterprise from outside will no longer be added to the value of its output, whose size formed the basis for the assessment of its activities, all of which entailed higher production costs, frequently resulting in bad work being rewarded with bonuses.

As far as the local administration is concerned, the reform provides for making it the complete master of the territory it administers, focusing its attention, in particular, on satisfying local needs on the basis of local resources. Much attention is devoted to agriculture, so that it may in future become a large producer.

No one questions the necessity of an in-depth reform of the system of functioning of the economy. The differences can only be found in the ways and means by which the reform can be brought about. Already a few rival drafts of the reform's provisions, which in a way anticipate the discussion, have been worked out, independently of the work being carried out by the party and government commission.

The party and government commission advises cautious action and the introduction of partial solutions. It explains this procedure by referring to the current disorder and absence of economic stability. In contrast, the authors of the rival drafts postulate that an aggressive and fast method should be used. A gradual, or partial reform is, in their opinion, bound to fail due to the fact that it will prove incapable of breaking the inertia of the system to date.

If this postulate is accepted we would have the reform starting on 1 January 1982--a year earlier than provided for in the official theses. Should the current attempt end in failure, the consequences entailed would be incalculable.

Poland was the first in the socialist camp, in 1956, to raise the question of adapting the socialist doctrine to the laws of historical development.

At that time, the Polish economic thought gave rise to creative changes in the economic system of other socialist countries, itself lapsing into a state of torpor lasting many years. The time has now come to wrench ourselves from this hopeless state.

TRYBUNA LUDU DEMANDS END TO PROFITEERS, 'HUCKSTERS'

AU161650 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Dec 80 p 5

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "The Profiteers"]

[Text] We are receiving alarming signals. In the streets of Warsaw, breakfast butter was on sale at 70 zlotys per slab. Depending on the city and the profiteers' resourcefulness, their "surcharges" range between 100 and 400 percent of the official retail price. In front of a settlement self-service department store a thrifty little lady was selling milk at 8 zlotys per liter. In many cities at marketplaces hucksters were offering curd at 50 zlotys a kilo and vegetable oil at 40-50 zlotys per half-liter bottle without bothering to remove the state processing enterprises labels.

Those are the plain facts. On behalf of the wide circles of consumers I declare clearly: An end must be put to profiteering. Market hyenas must not feed on the country's difficult situation. The market for food supples is one thing but the procedure of buying up commodities in the state network to resell them at profiteering prices is quite a different thing. In supplies things are bad and no radical improvement can be expected within the next few months. The government admits that frankly. But we, by common effort, must not allow antisocial elements--profiteers, sharp dealers and parasites of various breeds--to profit by the difficulties.

In our opinion, there is urgent need to give the organs of the citizens' militia and the state inspection for trade every assistance in prosecuting obvious economic crimes. Public control committees, members of trade union organizations and youth unions, everyone must broadly join in this action.

An end must be put to profiteering practices.

GOODS SHORTAGES PROMPT SPECULATION IN LODZ

LD171056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] The short supply of goods to shops, as usual, is causing speculation in goods in short supply. It transpires from reports of Polish press agency correspondents that the situation here varies from one region to another. In Lublin, for instance, a recent survey carried out by the state commercial control organs did not uncover any speculation in sales of goods from state-owned shops. The situation in Lodz on the other hand was much worse. The control uncovered, in 1 day alone, 82 cases of speculation and concealment of goods in stores and markets.

KOPEC ATTENDS KATOWICE MEETING ON COAL EXTRACTION

LD170227 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] Meetings have been held in Katowice Voivodship with miners to help and work out the coming year's coal extraction plan. A meeting at the "30 Years of People's Republic of Poland" mine in Jastrzebie was attended by Deputy Premier Aleksander Kopec. At the meeting matters discussed included in particular the development of so-called small-scale mechanization [mala mechanizacja] and about the need for clear improvement in technical equipment in mining and working and living conditions of the mining workforces. Deputy Premier Aleksander Kopec presented, among other things, the current difficulties caused by shortages in coal supply and stated that provisions of the proper level of coal extraction in the coming year requires joint action by all miners, party activists, trade unions and [words indistinct]

REPORT ON PROGRESS ON GDANSK SHIPYARD WORK

LD151428 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Lechoslaw Stefaniak reports on the work of the shipyard in Gdansk:

From the beginning of the year the yard named after Lenin in Gdansk has launched 17 hulls, according to PAP. Until the end of the year two remain: the sixth serial fish-processing base and a prototype general cargo ship of 15,000 tons for Pakistan. This latter vessel is built at the K3 section, which I am visiting. I am speaking with the director of the assembly division, Zenon (?Wart).

[?Wart] A basic matter, which is irritating us, the shipbuilders, is that mass communication media are generally depicting some catastrophic state of work. As one can see not only in our section but in the whole yard--and the results attained during the last post-strike months are proof that our work, if not much better, in any case is better than before the strike--we are now attaining better results.

[Stefaniak] [Sentence indistinct]

[?Wart] Everything is being done. We have a chance until the end of the year to fulfil the annual plan by 100 percent. We are losing much, because there are perhaps too many discussions. This happens because the people are insufficiently informed, and information meant to calm the feelings among the workers is causing an entirely opposite reaction, only because not everything is said completely. This is what we are lacking now.

PZPR, SD AGREE TO INCREASE INVESTMENT IN SERVICES

LD161500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the SD Central Committee Presidium last week discussed the draft for speeding up the development of services and small-scale production. Today the Polish press agency published a document of the agreements on this issue.

A considerable speeding up of the development of a broad range of services, we read in the document, should become an important element in the process of overcoming the disproportions and tensions which currently exist.

The share of expenditures for services in the money income of the population should rise from 12 percent at present to about 16 percent in 1985.

The most rapid increase should be in everyday services which meet the daily needs of the population, particularly those connected with housing, public transport, repairs to electrical household equipment and building construction repair, laundry and clothing services. There must be considerable progress in services for rural areas and agriculture. The development of services in health care, tourism and recreation, transportation and communications and cultural and entertainment services should be speeded up.

All this requires profound transformations in the system of planning and management. The central program should only formulate the key aims and tasks in the services sphere, as well as the basic means essential for their implementation.

A stable policy should be continued as regards private commerce and services, especially in agricultural foodstuffs trade and catering, transportation and hotel services. Considerable increase in employment in services is essential. There is a vital need to introduce a series of regulations facilitating the transfer of people from industry to crafts, by retaining the right to an old-age pension, for instance.

EIGHTH SEJM SESSION TO CONVENE 19 DECEMBER

LD130518 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Dec (PAP)--[Words indistinct] has decided to call the 8th session of the Sejm (parliament) of the Polish People's Republic on December 19, 1980.

The agenda includes first readings of draft laws on the national social and economic plan for 1981 and the 1981 budget, questions by deputies and personal changes in the Sejm commodities.

The Council of Ministers said last Thursday that the plan for 1981 is to be the first stage of a 3-year programme to restore economic stability and solve the existing difficulties. The draft state budget for 1981 is 1,516,000,000,000 zlotys. Together with fixing incomes and expenses, the draft budget contains a number of decisions which adapt certain principles in the budget system to current changes in the organization of management and the needs of the (?national economy).

These proposals are aimed at strengthening the role of the Sejm and peoples councils in shaping the state and local budget. Local peoples councils will have full autonomy in using budget surpluses. Only the representative organ will have this power.

The agenda also includes adopting a draft provisional budget until the Sejm adopts a normal one and a draft law on tax duties. The law on taxes is to be a general act and its adoption would restore the possibility--recently suspended because of the lack of such a law--of appealing by citizens to court control of the legality of tax procedures.

More on Agenda

LD151454 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0330 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] The next Sejm session which will be held on Friday will deal with the government's first reading of the drafts for next year's socioeconomic plan and budget. The precepts of these drafts were discussed by the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances Committee of the Sejm. Next the committee sent its motions and notes to the government. Here are some of them:

Concerning housing, it is necessary to examine first of all the need to grant priority to the allocation of dwellings to young married couples. It is also necessary to strive for a general improvement of housing facilities thus contributing to a more satisfactory way of dealing with the needs of the inhabitants. Continuing activities designed to protect the living standard of families with lowest incomes, it was necessary to re-examine the principles for the organization and expenditure of social funds and possibilities for organizing such a fund for certain groups of the rural population, bearing in mind the disabled, old people and people living alone.

In the pay system it was necessary to strive for the fixing of a proper and stable relation between the highest and lowest remunerations. It was necessary to ensure a full supply of medicines. Concerning the allocation of investments it was necessary to strive for their reduction. Regarding the allocation of these means one ought to recommend these branches of the national economy which have until now been under-invested, such as agriculture, health service, culture and education. It was imperative to adopt a decision on higher interests of foreign currency deposits on the account and support ought to be given to the policy of economies in particular in the economic administration, in expenditures on representation and publicity.

These were only some of the deputies' notes concerning the precepts for next year's plan for socioeconomic development and the state budget which will be submitted to the Sejm next Friday.

ECUMENICAL COUNCIL PRESIDIUUM MEETS 12 DECEMBER

LD130434 Warsaw PAP in English 1522 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Dec (PAP)--The Presidium of the Polish Ecumenical Council, [word indistinct] affiliate (?the) churches in Poland other than the Roman Catholic Church, was held here to discuss the socio-political situation in Poland [word indistinct] council's activities in the international forum. The meeting positively assessed the socio-political transformations currently taking place in Poland, with special stress on democratization of public life.

The Presidium once more picked up the problem of its access to the radio for transmitting services of the council's member churches. The meeting favourably assessed the Polish denominational policy over the last decade.

GDANSK PARTY OFFICIAL ON PRECONGRESS DEBATES

LD131436 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Here is a dispatch by one of our correspondents about discussion in party organizations: Fourteen teams dealing with various topics are at work within the framework of the Gdansk Voivodship preconference commission. (Leszek Kuziak), second secretary of the PZPR Committee at the Gdansk Unimor electronic works, is chairman of team No 1 which has been set up to define the goals and nature of the ninth extraordinary party congress.

[Begin (Kuziak) recording] Our team has people who can contribute practical experience to our deliberations and are also able to make a substantial contribution from the scientific point of view. I have in mind the scientists from the University of Gdansk.

We take as our basis the resolutions of the basic party organizations. The most important issue to emerge from these resolutions is that of guarantees--guarantees for party members, for all of society that this is indeed our last historical turn. We wish to carry out an analysis of the past, both from the scientific point of view and from the viewpoint of everyday life. We wish, quite simply, to analyse the whole period preceding the ninth extraordinary congress.

There is also a feeling that we should take a very detailed look at our present. This is because many party members feel that our governing team [the government] has also been guilty of a number of mistakes.

As transpires from [word indistinct] and resolutions passed by the basic party organizations, the congress should have a more political nature. Quite simply, party members expect positive changes from the congress. We are to have changes connected with the statute, the electoral law. What is important is to make the party more democratic. What is important is that the party should act fast, lightning-fast, reacting in the correct manner. The ninth congress should above all, concern itself with party affairs. Nonetheless, as is known, it is impossible to separate economics from politics. In connection with this, what is also expected from the ninth congress is the drafting of a policy, not defining economic methods.

Everyone is now saying: Let the government, at long last, concern itself with governing; let experts commence work on programs. As for the party, let us clarify which program it is going to implement, which program corresponds to our country's most vital interests, the most vital interests of socialism in our country. [end recording]

PAP COMMENTARY ON UPCOMING PZPR ANNIVERSARY

LD142342 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Dec (PAP)--December 15 marks the 32nd anniversary of the unification of the Polish Workers Party, PPR, and the Polish Socialist Party, PPS, into the Polish United Workers Party. The unification of the Polish working class movement consolidated the leading role of the party and the working class in People's Poland.

The split in the Polish working class movement during the previous 50 years was a reflection not only of the class division of the society but also different views on the roads leading to Poland's independence. In the pre-war independent Poland unification processes started to manifest themselves, first under the influence of the October Revolution and especially in the face of Nazi invasion of Poland.

The PPS approved the programme of PPR formulated during the last world war, calling for struggle for independence and social reconstruction of the country. PPS contributed to the foundation of workers' rule in Poland and the shaping of the programme of people's authorities. The PPR was the initiator of and organizer of all undertakings of people's power in Poland liberated from under the Nazi occupation. It played the leading role in the formation of people's authorities, in the introduction of agrarian reform and restoration of industry, and development of Poland's western territory. It has become a mass party.

Under the influence of changes taking place in People's Poland, the PPS declared itself unequivocally in favour of close cooperation with PPR in the construction of new, democratic Poland. It based its policy on the principles of consolidation of cooperation with the Soviet Union, the struggle for defence of democracy, deepening of workers' unity and the participation in the further social and political transformation of the country.

The 32 years of socialist construction under the leadership of the PUWP witnessed a dynamic economic and cultural development of the country. The achievements were diminished due to erroneous implementation of the party's policy and existing distortions. The experience of the past 32 years prove that the socialist system cannot be built without the unity of the working class and the leading role of the party. These fundamental principles ensure Poland independence, security and peaceful existence.

The latest, 7th plenum of the PUWP CC confirmed these theses.

The process of renewal in social and economic life of Poland is stimulated today by the postulates of the working class, intelligentsia and other social milieus concerned in the consolidation of social justice and observance of moral and ethical norms. This is a platform of joint actions of party and non-party people, all those who want peaceful life to be restored and better living conditions ensured.

MINISTER MILEWSKI ADDRESSES SEVENTH PZPR PLENUM

AU121443 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Dec 80 p 4

[Report on speech by Mirosław Milewski, Central Committee member and minister of internal affairs, at the 2 December Warsaw session of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum]

[Text] The basic duty of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is to protect the achievements of our state's socialism as well as public good order and security and the lives, health and property of citizens. We always tell our functionaries that it is our duty to serve the people. A deep conviction has developed that we serve united purposes. This unity of purposes and tasks is responsible for the fact that all the employees of the ministry are deeply experiencing the events of the past few months.

All the decisions that were and are meant to strengthen the country and its socialist shape and to enhance the citizens' welfare have been accepted with complete understanding and agreement by our employees. It is with such agreement that we regard the process of socialist renewal in the deep conviction that it will serve Poland, socialism and the working people well.

Some people believe that the militia, security and prosecuting organs are hostile to present changes because it is allegedly a natural feature of their characters. Such a belief is wrong. Because of the functions they discharge, the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs gain their most complete satisfaction only when there is full agreement and harmony in the relations between authorities and citizens and when authorities are respected by society and enjoy its trust. Such a situation exists when authorities implement the tasks entrusted to them and enjoy sweeping social support. Such social support is vital for our ministry's work. In our activities we rely on daily social support from many thousands of people--from members of volunteer militia and from the many citizens who know that everyone's duty is to ensure good order and peace in the country.

Only under such conditions is the Ministry of Internal Affairs able to correctly discharge its duties in its service for the country and citizens and to fulfill its tasks of service to people.

We are strengthened in such a conviction by the resolute posture of our comrades in arms--soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces, with the commands which we are in daily contact with at all levels. We esteem and fully trust each other.

However, democratization is possible only if good order is observed. Whatever helps to introduce anarchy into life helps to delay the process of renewal. It is precisely anarchy that is the greatest and most dangerous enemy of democratization.

It is necessary to realize the dangers threatening the country and citizens. Today the elements of license, anarchy and willfulness in socioeconomic life, which threaten destabilization of the structures of the state and the process of democratization, are especially dangerous. The continued atmosphere of excitement and nervousness is objectively responsible for the fact that destructive elements find it stimulating, because such is their sociological and psychological character. Asocial and criminal elements that threaten the security of the state and of citizens are rearing their heads. As an example: Compared with the same months in 1979, in September and October this year crime in Poland increased 6 percent, burglaries of state and cooperative premises increased over 23 percent and burglaries of private premises increased over 21 percent. The state of discipline in industrial plants is also disturbing. In September and October of this year the industrial guards barred over 800 persons who tried to smuggle in alcohol from entering plants. Over 1,700 drunks were also turned away. In the plants themselves over 1,200 drunks were apprehended.

Being under constant pressure, the authorities of plants are unable to manage them. The country is being flooded by leaflets and slogans with demagogic, provocative and even antistate content. Rumors and slanders about honest and even generally respected citizens are multiplying. Our interventions have been obstructed in some case and our militia functionaries have been slighted when on duty.

We know that the country is going through a stormy and difficult period and that a way out must be devised by the united forces of all our people. We know that the new and renewed trade union movements, which recognize the principles of our socialist statehood, will greatly contribute to overcoming this difficult period. We know that the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity includes many people who are active in the interest of the workers class and that they have already attacked many difficult problems. We are with them as we are with all citizens who actively participate in the process of socialist renewal.

However, those who have broken into the ranks of Solidarity in the wake of events and want to exploit it for their own purposes, which are alien to Solidarity statutes, harm Solidarity. We will do our best to help Solidarity in getting to know the true attitudes and plans of such people.

Not all the negative features that imbue our country's life with anarchy can be explained by natural impulsiveness. There is no lack in Poland of people who are hostile to socialism and who attach specific expectations and hopes to the state of tension and anarchy. Some of them--organized in close connection with and through the help from the imperialist intelligence services and subversion centers--have worked out and are trying to implement a program to overthrow the government in Poland. [There is] the so-called Confederation of Independent Poland, which includes reactionary and nationalistic forces who are pursuing their activities unequivocally and without embarrassment as open counterrevolution. TRYBUNA LUDU has written much about this subject in a series of articles that revealed the program, foreign connections and methods of the activity of this organization. We have had cases of people exploiting national anniversaries to shout provocative sentences and hostile, antistate slogans. We know such actions and such an atmosphere from the experience of other socialist countries, where counterrevolution attacked people's power under various slogans. There are forces in Poland that, from other positions and by other methods, want to dismantle our system and our socialist fatherland. On their initiative numerous states of tension have been created. Much has been written and done on this subject by the mass media. No one should be taken in by the fact that some representatives of those forces have now quieted down. We will sympathize with those who will abandon destructive activities and actively commit themselves to socialist renewal in order to save the country. However, we are able to lay bare the activity of those forces and their true face as well as plans and foreign connections. The term "self-defense" in their name should be used by our society for their own defense because the true activities of the forces in question are leading the country to disaster and national catastrophe. That is why the basic criterion for evaluating people should be their true attitude toward the country's situation, which is especially difficult and dangerous.

We know our duties in the situation in which our fatherland has found itself. We know what is threatening it. We know the forces of counterrevolution laying in wait for our country's socialist achievements and trying to push it over the brink of national tragedy. We know how to be resolute. When defending the interests of our socialist fatherland, we will defend it with complete dedication and determination. We will implement with profound commitment the tasks included in Comrade Kania's report--in the Politburo report to the seventh plenum of our party.

VARIATION TO PINKOWSKI PZPR PLENUM SPEECH

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 4 December carries the 6,500-word speech given by J. Pinkowski at the 1 December session of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum, published in the 2 December Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on pages C 13-23, providing the following variations:

Page G 16, paragraph two, penultimate line reads:...was not ordered, which is for storage or which is for an undefined consumer.

Same page, paragraph five, penultimate line reads: ...the sharply criticized differences in wages and all phenomena of unjustified differences in incomes...

Page G 17, paragraph nine, line five reads: ...forecast for making payments to a housing cooperative and favorable...

The TRYBUNA LUDU version omits the last paragraph on page G 21 and the first paragraph on page G 22.

Page G 22, paragraph three, first line reads: ...improvements in the market situation, to stimulate and strengthen the developmental production trends in agriculture, to sort out the issues of investments and to prepare and implement a reform of wages, family allowances and pensions.

The TRYBUNA LUDU version inserts the following paragraphs between the penultimate and last paragraphs on page G 22:

"In perfecting the system of the functioning of the economy and the state, we will cut the size of the administration, simplify its organizational structure and cut its costs. Many administrative buildings are now being turned over for social purposes. We will take steps to eliminate excessive employment in the state and economic administration. That should cause no apprehension about employment. Even in a period of the serious structural changes facing us, our economy will make it necessary to rationally exploit all manpower resources.

"A particularly important problem which we are all facing is building social trust in the power apparatus and strengthening its authority.

"Building trust requires wide social control and consultation as well as increased social discipline in implementing the decisions in hand. That means that building trust requires a proper understanding and expansion of socialist democracy.

"Solving the existing problems will be impossible if we fail to overcome the still occurring mistrust in the activity of the state authorities and the reluctance or barren negation toward it. Fully efficient and effective activity in the interest of the country and people is possible only if there is mutual trust and cooperation between the apparatus of power and citizens."

PRISON TERM DEMANDED FOR FORMER MINEX DIRECTOR

LD170006 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Dec (PAP)--The examination of evidence and witnesses in the trial of former Minex director K. Tyranski was completed today. The prosecutor demands that Tyranski be sentenced to a prison term of 25 years and confiscation of property. The counsel for the defence will make his plea tomorrow.

TARNOW VOIVODSHIP PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING

LD161212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Tasks facing party branches and organizations after the seventh plenum were the subject today of a plenary session of the party voivodship committee in Tarnow. During the session in which Roman Ney, candidate Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee, took part, the talk was mainly about the need for strengthening party ranks, for restoring to the party its prestige in the community.

NEW WROCLAW PEOPLES COUNCIL CHAIRMAN ELECTED

LD180300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 14 Nov

[Text]--The voivodship People's Council in Wroclaw today accepted the resignation of its present chairman, Ludwik Drozd, and in a secret ballot elected to the post Prof Jozef Kaleta, rector of the Academy of Economics in Wroclaw. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 14 Nov 80 LD]

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU161726 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] The proceedings of the RCP Central Committee plenum began today presided over by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. The plenary session unanimously adopted the following agenda:

- 1--Report on updating and improving the correlation of production and delivery prices, of tariffs for services rendered for socialist units and of production and contract prices in agriculture;
- 2--Report on the draft state budget for 1981;
- 3--Program on the people's supply for the fourth quarter of 1980 and the first quarter of 1981;
- 4--Report on finalizing the action aimed at increasing remuneration, pensions, children's state allowances and other incomes;
- 5--International issues.

The plenary session is attended by cadres from ministries, central institutions and mass organizations and by chief editors of the central press who are not members of the Central Committee. The plenary proceedings continue.

CEAUSESCU SENDS ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE TO UN

AU132030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 13 Dec 80

["Message Addressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the U.N."--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Dec (AGERPRES)--The message of President Nicolae Ceausescu to the president of the General Assembly and to the secretary-general of the U.N., on the 20th anniversary of the endorsement of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, was circulated on December 13 at the U.N. as official document of the U.N. General Assembly. The message was presented by Romania's permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Teodor Marinescu.

Highlighting the significance of the document endorsed two decades ago and its topical character under the conditions of today's international life being troubled by the mounting tendencies of consolidation and redivision of the spheres and zones of influence, President Nicolae Ceausescu points out in his message:

The Romanian people, which attained its right to be the master of its own destiny through struggle full of sacrifices along many centuries, has given active moral, political and material support to the peoples' struggle for winning their right to free and independent life, for the removal of any form of colonial and neo-colonial domination.

The message expressed satisfaction at the proclamation of independence of the Zimbabwe Republic, reaffirming full support of Romania to the liberation movement in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO for the winning of national independence. It expresses the Romanian people's full solidarity with the struggle of the population in South Africa against the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid pursued by the Pretoria regime, resolutely brands the aggressive acts of South Africa against the independent neighbouring countries. President Nicolae Ceausescu stresses in his message that Romania has always been and will keep being a reliable supporter and friend of all peoples fighting for self-dependent development, for the defence and consolidation of their national independence and sovereignty and will pay utmost attention to strengthening the collaboration with the newly-independent states, with all developing countries, with the non-aligned states, in the struggle for the liquidation of the imperialist and neo-colonialist policy, of the policy of redivision and consolidation of the spheres of influence, for the defence of independence and freedom, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new economic and political order in the world, grounded on full equality and equity, for the achievement of disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament and the assigning of an important part of the thus released resources for supporting the economic development of the countries lagging behind in this respect.

Then, the message stresses that Romania is deeply concerned over the perpetuation and heightening of the tension and of the conflicts as well as over the emergence in various parts of the world of hotbeds of war and armed confrontations involving young independent states, developing countries. As sincere friends of the newly-independent states, the message reads, we steadily declare for the settlement of the disputed issues among them, just as of all disputes among any other states only by peaceful means, by negotiations among the parties directly concerned, for the strengthening of the solidarity and unity of the developing countries, of the non-aligned countries, in the struggle for overcoming some complex issues inherited from the time of colonial oppression, for the focussing of all their efforts on their socio-economic development, on ensuring a free, dignified and prosperous life, sheltered against any pressure and immixture from the outside.

We consider that under the current circumstances of severe tension in the international life, the most urgent imperative is the rallying of the efforts and the ever closer collaboration of all peoples in order to prevent the international situation from worsening, to resume and further the course to detente, peace and collaboration.

I wish to reaffirm on this occasion, too, Romania's determination to closely collaborate with the other states and peoples also within the United Nations, for the political settlement in the interests of all nations of the major issues facing mankind today, for the attainment of the peoples' aspirations after living free, independent, in peace, security and welfare, for the building of a better and more just world on our planet, showed President Nicolae Ceausescu in concluding his message.

KING HUSAYN RECEIVES SPECIAL ENVOY PUNGAN

AU162113 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] A warm exchange of friendly messages took place in Amman between the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and King Husayn ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan when the Jordanian sovereign received Vasile Pungan, minister secretary of state and personal representative of Romania's president.

Warm greetings and best wishes for good health and personal happiness were extended to King Husayn on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as wishes for well-being and peace to the friendly Jordanian people.

Expressing thanks for the message extended, King Husayn asked the guest to convey cordial greetings and wishes for good health and personal happiness to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with wishes for prosperity and success to the friendly Romanian people.

During the ensuing talks, the two sides expressed satisfaction with the smooth development of Romanian-Jordanian relations in all fields of common interest in the spirit of the understandings concluded during the summit meetings in Bucharest and Amman. They reiterated the determination of the two heads of state to deepen and expand relations between the two countries, something that is fully in keeping with the interests of the friendly Romanian and Jordanian peoples.

Discussing certain aspects of current international issues, the two sides reasserted the conviction of the two heads of state in connection with the need to intensify efforts to settle all conflicts between countries by peaceful means and negotiations and to achieve effective measures in the field of general disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament and to proceed to tangible steps on the road to establishing a new international economic order to ensure the continuity of the trend toward detente, the policy of peace and broad cooperation from which all countries in the world should benefit. They stressed the desire of the two countries to intensify their cooperation internationally in the interest of peace, security and of the free and independent development of all nations.

TRADE OFFICIAL RECEIVED BY COSTA RICA PRESIDENT

AU162116 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] A message on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed to Rodrigo Carazo, president of the Republic of Costa Rica, by Alexandru Margaritescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, when he was received in San Jose by the head of the Costa Rican state.

During the same occasion, on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, wishes for good health and happiness were conveyed to President Rodrigo Carazo and wishes for complete success in fulfilling his highly responsible duty. The head of the Costa Rican state expressed warm thanks and conveyed cordial greetings to Romania's president, together for best wishes for good health and wishes for success and well-being to the friendly Romanian people.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides examined certain matters pertaining to developing cooperation between the two countries in fields of common interests.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES LAO LEADER ON BIRTHDAY

AU151137 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Dec 80 p 5

[Congratulatory message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Lao Prime Minister Kaysone Phomvihan on the latter's birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP], prime minister of the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], Vientiane:

On the occasion of your 60th birthday on behalf of the RCP, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people and myself, we want to convey to you warmest and comradely congratulations.

We are confident that the relations between our parties, governments and countries will continuously develop, in the interests of the Romanian and Lao peoples, and of the general cause of international socialism, peace and understanding.

We take this opportunity to convey to you best wishes for health and ever greater successes in your work devoted to building a new system in your country and to the prosperity of the friendly Lao people.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES DEPARTING PDRY AMBASSADOR

AU121617 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received for a farewell call 'Abd al-Aziz al-Dali, ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to Romania, in connection with the conclusion of the latter's mission in our country. On this occasion the sides held a talk which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ARTICLE ON POLISH ARMY CITED

LD162208 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1929 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec (TANJUG)--The Soviet Defense Ministry press organ KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today devoted a special article to the activities of the Polish Army and its joint maneuvers with Soviet forces. Without specifying when the maneuvers were held, the daily stresses that they have been highly rated by Polish military officials. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes army [as received] successfully carries out its tasks "in the name of the common high goal of securing the borders of the countries of the socialist community."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA assesses that millions of Poles are deeply convinced that the problems in their country will be successfully solved "only in unity with the Soviet friends and class brothers from other socialist countries."

The Soviet daily claims that enemies of socialism are trying "to raise a quarrel between the members of the army and the public and to undermine the high authority of the armed defenders of People's Poland."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA for the first time stresses that members of the Polish Armed Forces support the measures taken by the Polish party for overcoming the crisis and [words indistinct] work and social affairs and add that "vigilance is not waning any" in the Polish Armed [words indistinct] it is not in "the Soviet Army and the armies of other member-states of the Warsaw [word indistinct]."

DELO VIEWS IMPLICATIONS OF MOSCOW SUMMIT ON POLAND

AU161149 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Dec 80 p 4

[Bozidar Pahor commentary: "Unknown Facts After the Moscow Summit"]

[Text] "Socialist Poland can firmly count on the fraternal solidarity and assistance of the Warsaw Pact member countries." These countries have "confidence" that the Polish party will be able to overcome the current difficulties in Poland." This was the main thought expressed at the Moscow summit meeting on Friday evening which was attended by Brezhnev, Kania, Zhivkov, Kadar, Honecker, Ceausescu and Husak.

The message addressed to the Poles and the world is clear: For the time being, we believe the Polish comrades, that they will know how to create order at home. However, if they are not able or incapable....

Although a sigh of relief was heard throughout Europe and the world in connection with the message from Moscow--just before Leonid Brezhnev's departure for a friendly and official visit to India--it cannot be claimed that this sigh was particularly deep, since it was not solely a sigh of relief. That sigh contains rather much concern, for all indications are that the Moscow meeting was not the conclusion of a process, a landmark in a crisis that is turning for the better, but rather is a moratorium, a postponement until "further notice." Some 30-35 divisions are still on Poland's border. Pressure has not been diminished and for certain commentators this pressure is already some kind of intervention in Poland's internal affairs.

The entire world is still asking the question which in simplified form reads: Will the Soviet Union intervene in Poland or not? The Moscow summit meeting provided a very limited answer to this question.

If we claim that the entire world is asking this question, we do not exaggerate because the Polish crisis and the Polish question are far from being merely a matter of bloc interests and linkages, but also a matter of the nonaligned world.

The statement of our Federal Secretariat for foreign affairs is not solely the expression of our position, but also reflects the principles of nonalignment, the positions of the Italian party and of numerous other countries and political forces in the world. "Every intervention or pressure from outside, under whatever excuse, as well as any creation of an atmosphere of tension in connection with Poland can at the present moment only greatly worsen the situation in Poland and cause wider and unforeseeable negative consequences. The sovereign right of the Polish people is to settle its problems itself and to find and ensure the paths of its socialist development."

The same kind of position was also taken by the directorate of the Italian party, whose representative, Bufalini, said: "We publicly reiterate that for us every military intervention of the Warsaw Pact member countries in Poland would be an extremely serious act and completely unacceptable.... The struggle to resolve the crisis in Poland is the concern of the Polish workers class, the Polish people and the Polish party without any pressure or intervention, also on the part of other communist parties and socialist countries."

There can be no doubt that the divisions on the Polish borders are an important part of the pressure. Likewise, the propaganda offensive against the Solidarity trade union and the "counterrevolutionaries" in Poland is also a part of the pressure. In recent weeks this offensive has been most sharply waged by the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Moscow's tone lately, and significantly after the Friday meeting in Moscow, has become sharper.

Certain Western propaganda outbursts and the statements of those who do not want a socialist Poland and who would like to see it changed according to their "image," also do not contribute to the solution of the crisis.

What has then held Moscow back from taking the last and irrevocable step? The rather unified view, particularly in the West but also in the nonaligned world, could be condensed to a few statements:

An armed intervention by the Warsaw Pact countries in Poland would be an admission of a great failure of the present social practice, relations that are prevailing in the East European countries and the relations between these countries and the Soviet Union. At the same time this would be a repeated confirmation of the thesis, which is called the Brezhnev doctrine, according to which the Soviet Union has the right, in the name of protecting socialism and the interests of socialist countries, to "make order" by force in those countries which belong to the socialist camp, and thus to brake or prevent original reforms and processes, whose originator is the workers class.

Intervention would most likely resolve very little or nothing, but it would create a great many difficulties and problems. First, detente would become a victim, because intervention would bury for some time the process of relaxation of tension. Detente would be replaced by some kind of a new cold war, and relations not only between the USSR and the United States but also between the USSR and Western Europe would greatly deteriorate. And this would happen precisely at a time when despite all difficulties, the volume of trade between the USSR and Western Europe is increasing, and when the indebtedness of all East European countries has reached \$65 billion. Second, intervention would intensify economic difficulties in Poland to the extreme, difficulties which other Warsaw Pact member countries would then have to resolve. And third, intervention would most likely not pass without resistance, that is without bloodshed.

What is also involved are "great transactions" with the East European countries, particularly with the USSR in "opening up" the natural resources in Siberia. Credits amounting to billions [currency not specified] are needed for that. Just now the news has reached the world from Swedish sources that there are deposits of 619 billion tons of top quality oil in an area of 1 million square kilometers in Western Siberia, and this means--if the news is correct--that these deposits are twelve times larger than all deposits of oil in the Middle East. This news, too, draws attention to the increasingly greater interweaving or mutual interdependence of the modern world (President Kennedy was among the first to use this expression). Hundreds of billions of dollars will be needed and these dollars can be obtained if a political will for this exists, if there is confidence and if there is detente based on sound economic foundations. The stronger this mutual economic and political linkage is, the more everybody will think it over before he decides in favor of essentially old-fashioned and ineffective measures such as encroachments, interventions, gathering of divisions on the border and so forth. PZPR chief Kania clearly told the allies, and this was also done by press spokesman Klasa, when he said, among other things: "In Poland, the workers class claims the rights that justifiably belong to it."

Accordingly, a change has occurred in Poland which is the consequence of internal processes and internal forces.

In connection with Moscow's relative restraint, what is important is most likely the thought that a military intervention in Poland would mean an end to detente and many other things for a long, long period, and that a real danger of a wider conflict would result.

Nonetheless, commentators in the world agree to a great extent that Moscow will intervene only if it is convinced that the processes in Poland threaten the system and the Warsaw Pact military alliance.

The coming days and weeks will perhaps be decisive. In this connection, the bloc driving forces will increasingly join the game. We will also have to hear the verdict of the nonaligned world and of the entire world democratic public.

However, what is primarily decisive is the Poles' right to resolve their difficulties themselves along their socialist path.

SOVIET VICE PREMIER SMIRNOV CONTINUES VISIT

LD161510 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)--Presidency of Yugoslavia member Vidoje Zarkovic received in the federation building today Soviet Vice-Premier L.V. Smirnov, now on an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Federal Executive Council.

On that occasion Smirnov conveyed cordial greetings from president of the Presidium of the USSR Leonid Brezhnev for the Presidency of Yugoslavia, which Vidoje Zarkovic, on behalf of the Presidency, warmly returned.

During the cordial and friendly talks the two sides expressed satisfaction with the successful development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations on the known principles formulated in joint documents and at meetings between Presidents Tito and Brezhnev. It was emphasized that such relations are in the interest of the two countries' peoples.

The successful development of bilateral co-operation in the economic, scientific-technical, military-economic and other fields was especially noted. The two sides expressed readiness for the further expansion and strengthening of friendly relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR in all fields of common interest.

The discussion also covered some current questions in the development of the international situation.

Meeting With Djuranovic

LD161526 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)--The prospects for the further promotion of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation were the main topic in today's talks between President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic and Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Leonid Vasiliyevich Smirnov. During the meeting, the two sides noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations and allround cooperation between the two countries are developing successfully upon the principles determined during the meetings between Presidents Tito and Brezhnev. They also noted the readiness of the two sides to continue cooperating along these lines. Both sides stressed the importance of the promotion of cooperation in the domains of industrial cooperation and joint ventures.

Djuranovic and Smirnov also discussed the successful cooperation between the two countries' planning bodies.

Leonid Smirnov, who is heading a Soviet delegation on a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Federal Executive Council, had the closing round of talks here today with Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council Gojko Ubiparip. The two sides noted mutual interest in the further promotion of economic cooperation between the two countries.

HAIG APPOINTMENT REPORTED, ASSESSMENTS NOTED

LD162230 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2107 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Washington, 16 Dec (TANJUG)--U.S. President-elect Ronald Reagan today announced that former NATO commander for Europe General Alexander Haig will be state secretary in his administration.

According to first assessments available here, Haig will be the figure of the highest calibre in the Reagan administration and virtually the only one able to shape the U.S. foreign relations strategy.

Those well-versed note that General Haig is known as an advocate of a stronger U.S. position in the international community and that his views on U.S. foreign relations were the reason he was in June last year replaced as NATO commander for Europe by the Carter administration.

It is stressed here that President Reagan expects from Haig the future U.S. foreign policy to be much more determined than it was so far, particularly in relation to the Soviet Union. The future U.S. secretary of state will probably bring new views in relation to future relations with China.

In his earlier statements General Haig overstressed the strategic role of Israel in the Middle East, so that this, too, could bring new tones in U.S. approaches to the settlement of the crisis in this region.

Criticism Reported

AU171150 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] As is known, Gen Alexander Haig, former commander of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe, has been appointed the new American secretary of state. This Reagan decision has met with first criticism. Senator Cranston, Democrat, has stated that he will request a debate on General Haig's role in the Vietnam war and in the Watergate affair. Senator Kennedy expressed concern that a professional soldier, a former general, will head the U.S. Department of State. However, it is believed in congressional circles that nothing will stand in the way of Haig's confirmation as secretary of state.

PAHR, MARKOVIC TOASTS AT VIENNA LUNCHEON REPORTED

LD102218 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2124 GMT 10 Dec 80

[Text] Vienna, 10 Dec (TANJUG)--Austrian Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr today said that good relations between Austria and Yugoslavia contribute to detente and he described Assembly of Yugoslavia President Dragoslav Markovic's current visit to Austria as reflecting the mutual interest in further promoting bilateral relations.

In his toast at a luncheon given today in honour of the Assembly of Yugoslavia delegation, Pahr said that Austria attaches great importance to the visit and to friendly relations with Yugoslavia, "Yugoslavia pursues the policy of a non-aligned country, and we are guided by the policy of lasting neutrality. We are also linked by a similar geo-political position between the two big blocs. We are, therefore, aware that everything that benefits Yugoslavia in world politics benefits also Austria and everything that harms Yugoslavia, harms also Austria," Pahr said.

In his toast, Assembly of Yugoslavia President Dragoslav Markovic noted the headway in cooperation between the two countries and underlined that both Yugoslavia and Austria take a constructive and realistic approach to promoting their relations in the common interest.

Markovic said that the two countries can and should discuss open problems.

"Yugoslavia will continue, as so far, consistent in the struggle for its independence, for peace, equitable cooperation and detente in the world and will continue active in the non-aligned movement and the United Nations," Assembly of Yugoslavia President Dragoslav Markovic said.

MIJATOVIC ATTENDS ANNUAL DIPLOMATIC CORPS HUNT

LD131604 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0806 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Karadjordjevo, 13 Dec (TANJUG)--The SFRY Presidency this morning organized the traditional hunt for heads of foreign diplomatic missions accredited to Yugoslavia. The Blue Train brought the diplomats from Belgrade to the Vranjak hunting lodge shortly before 0700. The guests were served breakfast around camp fires and then, led by their host Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Dr Hansjoerg Hess, Swiss ambassador and vice dean of the diplomatic corps, went to the starting positions. Several members of the SFRY Presidency, the Council of the Federation, the Assembly of Yugoslavia and the Federal Executive Council are also taking part in the hunt.

Mijatovic Speech After Hunt

LD141020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Karadjordjevo, 13 Dec (TANJUG)--The SFRY Presidency has organized the traditional December hunt for the heads of the foreign diplomatic missions accredited to Yugoslavia.

After the hunt Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, gave a dinner. Apart from those who took part in the hunt, the dinner was also attended by all the other heads of the foreign diplomatic mission in our country. On the Yugoslav side those present were Lazar Mojsoy, Dragoslav Markovic, Veselin Djuranovic, Dobrivoje Vidic, Hamdija Pozdersac, Duan Dragosavoc, Stana Tomasevic and others.

In a brief toast proposed on this occasion Cvijetin Mijatovic said: "I have the unusual duty to say a few words--and here I believe I share the feelings of everyone present--about a moment in which we feel sadness but also satisfaction to be able to carry on along Comrade Tito's path and to do what he did.

"Even now we continue a custom which Tito started over 30 years ago; we do it as if he were among us. I think we all agree that this tradition of our getting together, of getting together with Comrade Tito, should be continued in order that we should work even more successfully, understand each other better, cooperate better and overcome conflicts and misunderstandings, thus creating a world of trust, cooperation, understanding and peace. That is the value of this tradition nurtured by Comrade Tito, Mijatovic stressed.

He also said that the development of mutual relations between our countries depends to a large extent on how we cooperate. Mijatovic said that we have friends on our borders and that we also have friends all over the world, that our policy--Tito's policy of active peaceful coexistence and cooperation--is well known to everyone. In the pursuit of such policy, ladies and gentlemen, you will always have our support and understanding, Mijatovic said.

Mijatovic went on to thank the ambassadors for accepting the SFRY Presidency's invitations; he wished them success in their work and a happy New Year.

HODZA MAKES STATEMENT ON RETURN FROM AFRICA

LD161450 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 16 Dec 80

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)--"We are convinced that our talks in Guinea and Ghana will contribute towards the deepening and expansion of bilateral relations and traditional friendship" between the two countries and Yugoslavia, member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Fadilu Hodza stated here today. In a statement at the airport on return from official visits to the two African countries, Hodza said that he had had frank and very useful exchanges of views with Presidents Sekou Toure and Hilla Limann, as well as other leaders of the two countries, in which the allround successful development of cooperation was noted.

The need for strengthening the unity and solidarity of non-aligned countries upon the authentic principles was stressed during the talks on the movement of non-alignment, Hodza said.

The need for greater cooperation among the non-aligned countries and their greater activity in dealing with contemporary international problems was also noted during the meetings.

All sides taking part in the talks expressed their readiness and resolve to make maximum efforts for the success of the forthcoming ministerial conference of non-aligned countries in New Delhi.

Hodza especially underlined the jointly expressed view that the Yugoslav delegation's visit to Guinea and Ghana will contribute towards the further strengthening of cooperation and solidarity among the non-aligned countries, and thus to their even more powerful role in international relations.

SERBIAN TRADE UNION ON ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE

AU122150 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 80 p 5

[J. Kesic report]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec--During the past year, significant results have been achieved in the sphere of all-people's defense and social self-protection. As pointed out at today's session of the Presidium of the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Serbia, a general feeling created among the working people and citizens that all-people's defense is the concern and obligation of everyone, and not only of the competent organs, is most significant.

The most positive change is reflected in the fact that the basic organizations of associated labor have begun to concern themselves in a creative way with national defense and social self-protection, as emphasized at the session. However, one important field in this connection is still insufficiently organized. This is the field of association among work organizations, local communities and self-managing interest communities in relation to defense problems through self-managing agreements and social accords. For that reason it is necessary to devote greater attention to this question in the coming period.

The participation of women in preparations for all-people's defense is still insufficient. For that reason it is necessary to work out a program assigning women to appropriate leading positions in the economy and social activities, because in the event of war they would primarily perform the tasks now performed by men. The preparation of this program requires far greater engagement of all sociopolitical organizations and especially the trade unions.

Discussing the petitions and complaints received by the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Serbia, the Presidium concluded that the number of these petitions and complaints is not negligible, but that it is a positive fact that 95 percent of all complaints have been resolved in the communities of their origin.

At the conclusion of the session, the Presidium agreed that the election conference of the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Serbia would be held toward the end of this month or at the beginning of the next.

DRAGOSAVAC ATTENDS YPA UNIT ELECTORAL CONFERENCE

LD161508 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)--The regular electoral conference of the communists of the unit which continues, nurtures and develops the traditions of the first proletarian national liberation shock division was held in the Topcider Yugoslav People's Army Club in Belgrade.

Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Milan Daljevic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dane Cuic, president of the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army; Petar Gracanin, member of the LCY Central Committee; Kroun Dragovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia; and Slavko Maricevic, president of the League of Communists committee in the Belgrade Army District, attended the conference and took an active part in the discussion.

Greeting the communists, Dusan Dragosavac, among others, spoke of topical questions of the international situation, stabilization measures, of our economic development and of some forthcoming tasks of the communists.

Miodrag Dragovic was elected the new secretary of the League of Communists committee in this unit.

MIJATOVIC, MOJSOV VISIT LJUBICIC IN HOSPITAL

LD161920 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium this morning visited Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary of national defense who following a kidney stone operation is recovering well in the surgical clinic of the Military Academy.

FEC SUBMITS BILLS ON DEVELOPMENT IN REPUBLICS

LD161702 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0837 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)--The Federal Executive Council has submitted to the Yugoslav Assembly three bills connected with the development of inadequately economically developed republics and of Kosovo. From 1 January 1981 these bills will regulate the formation of resources of the federal fund which provides the credits for the underdeveloped regions, the distribution of these resources and the use of supplementary resources.

During the ensuing 5 years the permanent resources of the federal fund will be established at the rate of 1.83 percent of the Yugoslav national product. One half of these resources will be associated in keeping with the development programs of the under developed republics and of Kosovo, while the second half will be established as a compulsory loan. The bill lays down that 42.6 percent of the total 1.84 percent rate will be set aside for Kosovo. So far 27.1 percent of all resources has been earmarked for this province.

Of the total of resources so formed, 0.33 percent will be set aside for Kosovo, and the remaining 1.5 percent will be distributed as follows: Bosnia-Hercegovina--34 percent; Macedonia--24 percent; Montenegro--12 percent; and Kosovo--30 percent. Thus together with the initial 0.33 set aside for it, Kosovo will be ensured the anticipated share of 42.6 percent of the total amount of money set aside for the underdeveloped republics of Kosovo.

The third bill--on supplementary resources--regulates the financing of social and other services in the underdeveloped republics and in Kosovo. In 1981 0.85 percent of the national product will be set aside for this purpose, but the percentage will reduce to 0.73 percent by 1985. In this case resources will first be set aside for Kosovo, and the remaining funds then be distributed according to what is agreed.

DORONJSKI DISCUSSES ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

LD140750 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency member Stevan Doronjski today described investments as the key question of the Yugoslav economic stabilization.

In an interview to the Zagreb daily VEJSNIK Doronjski said that all work organizations in the country and, also, municipalities, republics and provinces must minutely reexamine their investments to establish whether they are annually accounted for close to 40 percent of Yugoslavia's gross national product, Doronjski said. At the two most recently LCY Central Committee sessions, both devoted to economic questions, the firm stand was taken for investments [wrods indistinct] to be reduced over the coming 5-year period.

Doronjski cited inadequate respect for economic laws as a major cause of Yugoslavia's present economic difficulties. He underlined that economic laws do not tolerate a closed market and administrative measures in economy.

Urging the economy's higher accumulation, Doronjski noted that work organizations dispose of only one-third on the income they generate which he describes as hardly enough for simple production.

Asked whether the economic difficulties negatively affect the development of democratic relations in Yugoslav society and the LCY, Doronjski cited the years 1948 (Yugoslavia's opposition to Stalin's dictate) and 1971 (reckoning with principals of nationalism and liberalism in the country) and said that the two crises were overcome in [wrods indistinct] by the definition and further development of self-management.

The best way to avoid crises, Doronjski said, is clearly to define the directions of society's development. It is absolutely necessary that this be done in a democratic manner. If the democratic procedure is pursued fully and to the end, the defined orientation becomes a material force and a guarantee that what has been defined will be carried out in practice, Doronjski said.

Referring to the delegate system and consultations to reach self-management accords, Stevan Doronjski criticized the delegates who at all cost defend the interests of their base. Delegates must be ready to go to their base to explain and persuade it to accept what is realistic and in the common interest, Doronjski said.

The LCY Presidency member called on communists to be very concrete in the environments in which they work and act and to struggle for the set policy "even at the cost of remaining in the minority."

Doronjski underlined that communists must not act as opportunists.

It is better and healthier to have accord lacking on certain questions but to know where the disagreements lie than to maintain superficial concord in individual environments, superficial concord which can objectively veil major problems in society or dangers threatening society's development, Doronjski said in the interview to VEJSNIK.

CORRECTION TO ITEM ON HODZA CEREMONY IN GHANA

The following sourceline should be added to the item entitled "Hodza Speaks at Welcoming Ceremony in Ghana," published in the 15 December Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page I 6:

"Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 12 Dec 80"

BRIEFS

KOMUNIST FOREIGN EDITOR DIES--Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)--Zdravko Micic, foreign editor of KOMUNIST, died suddenly at work 8 December, aged 50. He had held this position for many years and had received several decorations. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 8 Dec 80 LD]